




ON

THE ORIGIN AND AUTHENTICITY

-  OF THE

ARIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

BOMBAY

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ON  
THE ORIGIN AND AUTHENTICITY  
OF THE  
ARIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES,  
THE ZAND AVESTA AND THE HUZVARASH  
BY

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The Author reserves the ~~R~~ight of Translation

## PREFACE.

THE following paper is the writer's contribution to the knowledge of an ancient and dead language the parent of rich and widely spoken living languages to the most recent of the metaphysical sciences, which in the hands of learned and laborious philologists is so rapidly rising into the highest importance, to the illustration of the intellectual history of an ancient people no longer numbered amongst the nations of the earth, and to the general record of human progress. It was read before the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1857, and not published in the Society's journal till 1860. The writer's sole object in publishing it in a separate form is that he may more extensively communicate the results of his researches to learned Societies and to friends interested in such investigations. This object he is enabled to accomplish through the generosity of a venerable and beloved father, who is ever devising liberal things for the promotion of Oriental lore.

The opinions of the most learned continental orientals are decidedly in favor of the genuineness of the Zand Avesta and Huzvarash or Proper Pehlvi languages. There are writers however who entertain very different opinions but for which opinions there seems

to be no substantial grounds. Some European scholars have decidedly expressed the opinion that the Sanskrit has supplied the same work of the Zand language, but the writer on the contrary very confidently states that by the positive laws of comparative Philology it is demonstrable that the Zand Avesta is not only superior in this respect to the Slavonic, Teutonic, and Pelasgian languages, but that it is also more perfect in its structure than the Vedic Sanskrit, which fact strongly manifests the position the Zand Avesta holds as a primitive language.

In this paper the author has compared, by the rules of comparative Philology, the primitive language of the Zoroastrian, the Zand Avesta, and the Brahminical language of the Veda; and has proved beyond doubt the superiority of the former over the latter language. He has moreover instituted a comparison between the language of the Zand Avesta and the Cuneiform language of the Achaemenian Inscriptions; which comparison has afforded him satisfactory reasons to maintain that both of them are sister languages, and that the Cuneiform is more akin to the Zand Avesta than any other language of the Arian family. He, therefore, is decidedly of opinion that the Zand Avesta is the Hagiographical language and Cuneiform, the Demotic language of the Primal Arian Nation, for otherwise how could the ignorant foresters of Iran have preserved the essential root of the names of Kings, Persons, Provinces and things up to the present date? This natural evidence distinctly indicates the primal position of the language.

Zoroaster's religion and Divine law were first

promulgated in Bactria under the reign of his Royal follower the Bactrian Vistaspa or Hystaspas and enthusiastically adopted by the whole of the Arian nations. It can be proved from ancient and modern indisputable authorities, that the original home of the Zend Avesta was Bactria, and this opinion is acknowledged by many learned and eminent personages.

That the Zend Avesta was not only used as a sacred, but also as a popular language is undeniably proved by the following words of Mr Chodzko \*

"First.—The Taulish dialect is spoken from the desert of Moghan to the mouth of the river Dinachal, separating the Ghilan district of Resht from that of Gasker. The Zend elements occur in this patois most conspicuously.

The writer has endeavoured to prove in the succeeding pages the existence both of the Huzvarash or Proper Pehlvi and that of the common or current Pehlvi language. The fact, that the former was used as a Hieratic language by the sacerdotal class, and the latter as a Demotic language by the people, is established by many corroborative testimonies, which inevitably leads to the belief that the language did formerly exist in Iran. In fact the Pehlvi language is still used in the Province of Gustasfy in the Village of Dezmar and also in the Towns of Rai, Hamadan, Isphan, Nehavend, and Tabriz the ancient Capital of Azarbijan.

It is necessary to mention that the monumental record of Haji Abad and other Pehlvi Inscriptions prove

\* Specimen of the Popular Poetry of Persia. P. 453

the above mentioned fact beyond the least shadow of doubt, and the writer thinks it unnecessary to discuss any more this subject in this brief preface

The Pehlvi Inscription of Hapi-Abad not being published in the Asiatic Society's Journal, and the difficulty experienced in procuring oriental types being great, the author was compelled to lithograph the Pehlvi Inscription with much care, and to transcribe the original characters in Italic and Roman letters

The writer extremely regrets, that at the time of his writing this paper, several works, chiefly written and published in oriental languages, had not reached his hands, and that those works were not to be found in the Bombay Presidency or even in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Owing to the great deficiency in the typographical department, the author was obliged to give the equivalents of the original characters of several words of the Arian and Semitic families of languages in Roman and Italic characters, and in some cases without the Diacritical marks

In conclusion, the writer has much pleasure in returning his best thanks to his learned friends the Rev Dr. John Wilson and the Rev Dr A G Fraser, for their kind attention to some references made to them while this work was going through the press. He casts himself upon the indulgence of his intelligent readers and confidently trusts, that as this is his maiden attempt to write a literary and critical paper in a foreign language, they will kindly pardon any defects they may find in the style and arrangement of the matter. He must ask that neither of his learned friends should

in any way be blamed for any such defects, for which he himself is alone responsible. According to the well known Persian writer, Sadi's distich

کہیں حرمؔ حوس پیرامن  
نہ ار حاتمؔ عاربؔ حوامن

It is better to wear one's own old dress  
Than to borrow a robe.

Bombay 21st }  
December 1861 }

D FRAMJÎ

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# ON THE ORIGIN AND AUTHENTICITY

OF THE

ARIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

THE ZAND AVISTA AND THE HUZV ARASH

THIS PAPER WAS READ BEFORE THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF  
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY ON THE 8TH OCTOBER,  
AND ON THE 10TH DECEMBER 1857—BY DRUMJIBHAI  
FRAMJI. THE HONORABLE W. E. FRERE, PRESIDENT  
IN THE CHAIR.

MR PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN

Before entering upon this important subject I hope I shall be permitted to mention some of the unfortunate events which occurred during the long period of the Great Persian Empire.

More than four thousand years ago the Great Persian Empire,\* was constantly harassed by its enemies and was invaded by them but none of them conquered it in its meridian glory. At last, in its decline it was first conquered to its great misfortune by Alexander the Great, in the reign of Darius or Dārā, the third and the conquering monarch, by a most deplorable policy destroyed not

\* Eng. Trans. Dabistan or school of manners of 1843. Vol. I  
P p LXXVIII.

only a great part of the Library of the Empire,<sup>\*</sup> but also the most magnificent Citadel of Istêkhân, and the most ancient monumental relics of Persepolis<sup>†</sup>, facts well known to many nations, and which are sources of the deepest grief to the hearts of the Persians, who suffered such a grievous injury at the hands of the conqueror, and such an irreparable loss to all their future generations

After the lapse of a few centuries the Persian Empire was fortunately re-established by Ardêshâr Bâbêgân,<sup>‡</sup> the first king of the Sassanian Dynasty, in whose reign also the ancient religion of Zoroaster was re-established, and which continued with glorious success in that mighty empire for the space of more than five centuries during the reigns of his successors, till the period of the second invasion of Persia by the fanatic Mahomedans. It cannot be doubted that the *rare* and most interesting sect the Parsees both

\* Ouseley's Travels in the East of 1821 Vol I p 410 411 Vol II p 411 Note Eng Trans Dabistan or school of manners Vol I p 278 279 Note Vol II p 344. & *Notices des Manuscrits*, &c Vol VIII p 159

Zand Avesta by Anquetil Vol II p 338 & 364 Note 181

Journal of the American Oriental Society of 1856 Vol V No II p 355

Vide the *Amoenitates Froticæ* of Kaempfer p 302, and the "*Memoire Historique Sur Persepolis*" of M. Langles, in the third Volume of his "*Collection Portative de Voyages*"

Hyde, *Rel. Vet Pers* 1760 P 568

Mém de l' Acad. des Inscript Vol XXXVIII P, 216 217

† Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol I p 297, Vol II Pages 303 319 332 Note (138) (See Strabo Lib XV)

Eng Trans Dabistan or school of manners Vol I p 224 Note

A Popular Description of Persia and China by J. Conder Vol. II p 71

Porter's Travels of 1822 Vol. I. p 647

Strabo by Falconer and Hamilton of 1857 Vol. III Pages 132 133

‡ Bible Cyclopedia of 1847 Vol II p 298 Nineveh and Persepolis by W. Vaux of MDCCCL p 112

Eng Trans Dabistan Vol I P p CIII P 266 283

of Persia and India — was well known to the world for upwards of two thousand years by the miraculous prophecies and moral doctrines of their revealed religion\* but the greater part of their works on religious literature was ultimately lost and destroyed with their great kingdom, by the Mahomedans. The fall of their empire obliged the Zoroastrians to leave their father land for the preservation of their religion, and their property and the great depository of Persian literature were thus left in the hands of the Mahomedans.

On their taking possession of the great kingdom the barbarous Mahomedans followed the example set by Alexander the Great, and destroyed the works on Persian literature † Omar Katub having collected all the works belonging to the Library of the Persian Empire, used them as fuel for the kitchen of his immense household for several months. We cannot, therefore, any longer be surprised at the existing poverty of Persian literature but still we are fortunate in having many of the ancient Zand and Pehlvi works saved from the hands of the Mahomedans.

At the time the Mahomedans conquered Persia, our ancestors left their country and were led by Providence into many parts of Hindôstan. They were obliged to resort to a thousand schemes,‡ for the preservation of their religion

\* Eng. Trans. *Dabistan*. Vol. I. Pages. 222. 226 Note I.

† The Reply of Mulla Feroz to the Bengal Critique, p. 7

Popular Poetry of Persia of MDCCCXLII, Eng. Trans. by Ch. d. de Esq. P. 465. Transaction R. A. S. G. B. & I Vol. III. p. 526.

Journal of the American Oriental Society of 1856 Vol V. No. II p. 3-5 Ouseley's Travels in the East of 1821 Vol. II. p. 410 to 411

‡ Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol. I. p. 144. Wilson on the Parsi Religion p. 210



They first came under the protection of the Hindu Râzâ or king Jâdê Rânâ of Sanjân, and then under the protection of the British Government, a large part of Hindôstân having come under that rule to whose paternal care we are greatly indebted

The learned Mulla Feroz has passed a very high eulogium on the British Râz, in his famous poem, entitled "George Nâme," or the History of the British conquest of India. This was the first Persian work on the British Government, and is described by Persian literati, so many of whom are the happy subjects of this Government, as recording a faithful history of the chivalric bravery of the British, in every part of the world. I am happy to add, to what the learned Mulla has said, that no other nation on earth has contended so successfully in the vast field of oriental lore, or has offered such a heroic defence of its life and honor.

The Iranian languages, which were almost entirely neglected in consequence of the decline and fall of the ancient monarchy, are at present so much cultivated again, by the philological labors of the Continental Orientalists, that these languages are more indebted to foreigners than to those who speak them, for the knowledge that is possessed of their history and structure\*.

\* Opinions regarding the Zand language are very conflicting†. Those who advocate its genuineness are opposed by

\* Dr T Hyde, M A Du Perion, M J F Kleuker, M E Burnouf Prof E Rask, Prof F Bopp, Prof C Lassen, Revd Dr J Wilson, Dr F Speigel, Prof H Brückhaus, Sir C H Rawlinson, Prof Westergaard and others

† Sir W Jones, Mr Richardson, Col V Kennedy, Mr Erskine, Mr J Romei &c

a few learned Orientalists, but the latter have no good foundation for their theory and they even contradict themselves.\* It is not strange that some Orientalists should raise doubts as to the genuineness of the Zand language for belief in the existence of things most palpable to the senses is reasoned out of some persons by the ingenuity of minute philosophers." The following observations will I hope, clearly prove how contradictory are the opinions of those who disbelieve in the Zand.

I enter upon this subject with a view to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the Zand language and Zand Avesta from the most reliable original sources, and from the testimonies of Greek, Latin, Armenian Syrian German, French and other European authors, on whose authority we have sufficient reason to rely† Before I reply to Mr Romer's‡ question, viz— Zand—is it an original language? I think I should first of all, advert on the hypothesis of Schlegel, Sir W Jones, Richardson, Vans Kennedy and others, which requires refutation because Mr Romer has based his argument on it.

With regard to the Zand language the translator of

\* Eng. Trans. Dabistan or school of Manners Vol. 1. P. 283. Note.

Sir W Jones contradicted by Kleuker and V Kennedy Mr Richardson, by Adelung and others, and Mr Erskine by Prof. E. Rask

† Plato, Aristotle, Theopompus, Nicolaus, Strabo, Pausanias, Pliny, Dion, Chrysostomus St Clement, Eusebius &c &c. Dr T Hyde Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. P. 2. 4. P. Kleuker Dr. Brokhaus Dr. Rhode, Dr F Speigel Professor Bopp, M. A. Du Perron M. E. Burnouf, Prof. C. Lassen, Revd. Dr. Wilson, Prof. E. Rask Professor H. H. Wilson, M. A. Troyer D. Shea, Sir C. H. Rawlinson and several others.

‡ About five months after this paper was read before the society I learned with much regret of the death of Mr Romer

Professor Heeren's works, supported by the "authority of W de Schlegel, puts the following question

"Has any ancient dialect ever borne the name of Zand?"\*

The doubt implied in the above inquiry is most disingenuous, for if the inquirer had consulted the works of the Greek, Armenian, and Syrian authors, he would never have asked such an absurd question

If the language never bore the name of Zand, how could the foreign authors have mentioned in their writings, that the works composed by Zoroaster were in that language?† And if the works of Zoroaster never existed, how could the foreign authors be aware of the fact that the Zand language was that in which the works of Zoroaster were compiled? Further if the name of Zand was not known in ancient times, why did the ignorant foresters of Iran or Persia use the identical term of Zand in speaking of the language. Supposing that no language bearing this name ever existed formerly, how then can we account for foreigners‡

\* Heeren's Historical Researches Vol II P 341 Note No 12

† In the fourth century B C Plato, Aristotle and Theopompus, show a knowledge of Zoroaster's Works Eng Trans Dabistan Vol I p 224 Note J R A. S G B and I of 1846 Vol X Part I p 42 Note I

Mém de l' Acad, des Inscript Vol XXXVIII P 167 268

‡ The word Zand Avesta is used by the Armenian, Syrian, and Syriac, Arabian, as follows — "Zendik, or Zendak," "Sindik," "Abestak," or "Avestak," and "Abestogo" or "Avestogo" The Semitic forms are Apestako, or Apestak. In the ancient Arre Coti language, the word Zand Avesta is called "Sanabesta." The modern German and other European Orientalists use the word in various forms "Send" or "Sent" and Abastak, Apistan, Avestan, Apesta and the last I would call in its genuine form Zand Avesta, or else according to the doctrine of Zoroaster, I would prefer to call it Mānthru Spēntu, i e the celestial language or holy word. See Appendix Note A

having mentioned the Zand language in their respective works, as early as the fourth century B. C! Plato Aristotle and Theopompus showed a knowledge of Zoroaster's works\*.

This fact in itself proves the authenticity of the language and I am decidedly of opinion that the word Zand is the name of the characters in which the books are written and Avesta that of the sacred language† the Zand Avesta therefore has borne a true name according to its fundamental origin.

Further it is asked "To what country and epoch does this pretended language belong?" If a language is a pretended one it may be asked what is the use of ascertaining the country and epoch to which it belonged or belongs. It is quite useless to discuss the question. Even if it be a pretended one the public must be informed in what country and epoch the language was forged so that the very hypothesis of my opponent may be supported and it may clearly appear that it is a pretended language.

It appears from the doctrine of the Zand Avesta that the sacred language was first introduced by Zoroaster into the vast empire of Iran or Persia, under the royal patronage of king Gustasp or Hystaspes, that it was afterwards used by the Iranians or Persians as a popular language in the whole empire of Iran and at the same time it was ordered by king Gustasp that Zoroaster's Revelation should

\* Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. p. 224 Note I and p. 277 Note I.

Anhang. Zum Zend Avesta by Kleuker in appendix.

† Eng. Trans. Dabistan of 1843 Vol. I. p. 223 No. I.

Zend Avesta by Westergaard Vol. I. P. p. I. Note No. I.

Zend Avesta by Dr. Spiegel Vol. I, P. 43.

See Appendix Note B.

be written upon 12,000 cows'-skins or parchments,\* and these written parchments were deposited by order of the royal patron in the magnificent archives of Istékhâi about four centuries B C

From this authority the country and epoch of the genuine language are clearly proved

Further, if the learned controversialists had examined the fundamental principles of the Zand language in a philological point of view, they would not have dared to lay their unsupported opinion before the public

I beg them to consult the following opinions of the learned professor H H Wilson and Mr A Troyer

Professor Wilson says, "For our first accurate knowledge of the religious books of the Parsis of Gujarat, we are indebted as is well known, to Anquetil du Perion. Both in his translation of the Zand avesta, and in some separate dissertations published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Monsieur du Perron has maintained the authenticity and high antiquity of the Zand and Pahlvi languages, in which those works are composed. The former he asserts to have been the spoken language of the countries between the Caspian and Black Sea, and of the upper part of Mesopotamia, or in a word of Northern Media, several centuries before the era of Christianity. Pahlavi, according to him, was also spoken in the countries between Dilem, Mazanderan, and Farsistan, at least as far back as the date of Zoroaster, the reputed author of the Zand avesta†

\* Hyde's *Rel Pers.*, p 317-319

Eng Trans Dabistan 1843, Vol I. p 224 Note

Ouseley's *Travels in the East of 1821* Vol II p 314 364 393 & 410

† J R A. S G B and I Vol IV p 345

Mr. Tuckwell says —

It is besides now decided by the investigations of the above-named author and by those of Hirtler, Dahl as well as by those of Mevri, Eugène Burnouf, Japp, Lassen and other philologists that Zand was an ancient language derived from the same source as the Sanskrit it was spoken before the Christian era, particularly in the countries situated to the west of the Caspian Sea namely in Georgia, Iran Proper and Azerbyjan (the Northern Media.)\*

From the corroborative testimony of the above authorities it is proved that the Zand language did formerly exist in Iran or Persia before the commencement of the Christian era and it was considered to be the sacred spoken language in Iran in the reign of Darius Hystasp or Gu tasp†

Further the translator of Heeren's works quotes from the same authority — "Is it not rather a corruption of San krit Chandas one of the most usual appellations of the Vedas?" No for this supposition I beg to call the attention of my candid readers to the succeeding pages.

When the question as to the comparative Philology of the Zand and Sanskrit languages is decided we shall have strong reasons for believing, that the Zand is an independent language and not a corruption of the Sanskrit

The learned translator says, on his own responsibility—

As to the Zand Avesta, our literary dictator supposes it to be a comparatively recent forgery by Guebans or Paraces

Eng Trans. Dahl's Vol I p. 222, Note I.

† Hyde's R II Persi I 1 60 Ia 303 312 333.

Zand Avesta by A. Du Peron, T I L. 1 p. 60-61.

Zand Avesta by Hirtler app I ch. I 3

J. R. A. S. G. B. and J. V. A. P. I. P. L. N. I

of Guzrát, an opinion indeed which others besides himself have entertained" (Vide Page 341)

I judge from the erroneous opinion of the translator, as well as his dictator and others, that they have not taken the trouble of examining the origin of the language in a philological point of view

If the language was forged or fabricated by the Parsís, would it stand the test of comparative Philology? No It would be quite impossible The invention of a language, according to the general opinion, is contrary to all probability I beg to request those learned men to look into the extensive comparative Grammar of the learned professor Bopp, where the great orientalist compares the Zand language, not only with the Sanskrit, but with the Greek, Latin and Teutonic languages, and clearly proves that the origin of the language is as natural, as that of the Híndo-Germanic language I consider therefore the opinions of my opponents to be wholly incorrect

If I grant for the sake of argument that the Zand language was forged by the Parsís of Guziát after their emigration from Persia, let me ask how could the Zand character be engraved on several of the blocks of stones of the ruined buildings of Bisutun? Hear what Colonel Rawlinson, (Now Sir H C Rawlinson) says \*

"That the ruined buildings at Bisutún are of the Sássamáníge, is proved by a capital, sculptured in its peculiar style, as well as by some words in the Zand characters engraved on several of the blocks of stone" From this monumental relic the authenticity of the Zand language is clearly proved,

\* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London of 1839  
Vol 9 P 1 p 111

and there is no doubt that the language really existed in Persia before the Parsis came to Guzrât or else how and in what manner could the characters have been engraved on several blocks of stone in Persia? In further proof of this I beg to refer to the testimony of the Cuneiform inscription on the tablet at Persépolis to show that the Cuneiform inscription is apparently the sister to the Zend language.\* The genuineness of the language is also proved by the

\* *Memoires de la Société Royale Des Antiquaires du Nord*. 1844. p. 2 2 by Westergaard.

Heeren's *Historical Researches* Vol. II. p. 324.

*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* 1820 Vol. II. p. 172, 173, and 183.

Vide p. 40 to 42 *Tallm-i Zurroahit* or the Doctrine of Zoroaster of 1840. Note by Sir H. C. Rawlinson.

Page 325 to 328. Vol. I. No. III. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* of 1847 and also p. 532, 537 543 and 550. Vol. I. No. IV do. do. of MDCCCLXIX.

An appendix to the fourth edition of Heeren's *Ideen über die Politik den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt*, published at Göttingen in 1824 by Professor Grotefend.

*Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend Avesta* of 1826 by Professor Rank.

*Memoire sur deux inscriptions Cuneiformes trouvees pres d'Hamadan* 1836 by Professor Burnouf.

*Die alt-Persischen Kiel-Inchriften von Persépolis* of 1836 by Professor Lassen.

Parts I and III. of Vol. VI. of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Mongenlandes* of 1844-45 by Professor Lassen.

P. 10 Vol. X. Pt. I. to Vol. XI. Pt. I. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* of 1846-49 by Sir G. Rawlinson.

P. 235 Vol. XXXII New Series No. CXXVIII *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Review* August 1840.

Page 173 Vol. II. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* of 1820.

P. 51 Vol. IV. *The Bombay Quarterly Review* of 1850.

P. 3. *The Languages of the Seat of War in the East*. Second Ed. 1835, by Max Müller.

*Les Inscriptions des Achéménides, conques dans L. idiome des Anciens perses* éditées et commentées par M. J. Oppert MDCCCLL.

*Proceedings of the Phil logical Society* of 1854 Vol. I. P. 120





fabricated by the Parsi priests after their emigration from Persia, and particularly I request my opponents to consider at once the question of the authenticity of the Zand language in order to bring this controversy to an end.

As regards the comparison of the Zand and Cuneiform languages, I shall endeavour in the succeeding pages to show that the Cuneiform is no doubt identical with the Zand language.

"The assertions of Du Perron were strenuously opposed by Richardson, in the Preface to his Persian Dictionary who (like Mr Romer) treats the claims of the Zand especially with great contempt, asserting it to be an invention of the Parsi priests a barbarous jargon or *Lingua Franca*, called from the dialect of every surrounding country."

The above opinion of Richardson will shew the intelligent reader that his knowledge of the Persian dialect was very limited, or he would never have promulgated this opinion to the learned world. Can we believe that any person or even a Parsi priest could possess sufficient ability to fabricate a language so perfect in its grammatical construction as that of the Zand? Suppose we believe according to Richardson and Mr Romer's hypothesis that the language is an invention of the Parsi priests, a barbarous jargon a *Lingua Franca*, called from the dialects of every surrounding country" then must we believe that the Parsi priests went into every surrounding country in order to study the dialects of those different nations? And that in this way did they succeed in fabricating a language so copious and philosophical as the Zand? or else did they

collect several Dictionaries of the different <sup>6</sup>dialects of the surrounding countries in order to invent the Zand language? This hypothesis however will not account for the many words in the Zand language which are natural to it, and which are not to be found in the dialects of any country. From what languages then and whence were those words selected by the Parsí priests for their "Lingua Fianca"? Ignorance alone would call such a copious and philosophical language a barbarous jargon.

Suppose I admit that the Parsí priests have fabricated the language, then I would ask the supporters of Mr Richardson's hypothesis and orientalists in general, whose vast philological learning is far superior to that of the learned Parsí priests of the present day, whether if they all joined together for such a purpose, would they be able to fabricate a language so perfect as the Zand? This opinion seems to be altogether unfounded. See the very valuable remarks of Mr A. Troyer \*

"First that the forgery of a language is in itself highly improbable"

"Secondly that if it had been attempted, comparative philology is perfectly capable of detecting it"

Our learned Honorary President, the Revd Dr Wilson, after a profound study of the ancient Zand language, has expressed the following opinion †

"There is an approach to Gujarati idiom in some instances and to a Gujarati corruption of Sanskrit, which at one time marked considerable suspicions in my mind. Viewing the matter of the Zand language however in its

\* Eng Trans Dabistan Vol I P XXX under the head Preliminary Discourse on the Desaster

† Wilson on Parsi Religion P 406 to 407

general aspect I have no hesitation<sup>\*</sup> in declaring that none of the exiled and depressed Parsi priests in India can be supposed to have had the abilities to invent that language with its extensive and minute grammatical forms, and with its abundant and regular analogies to the Sanskrit, Persian, Pahlavi, Greek, Latin, and Germanic languages as so distinctly evinced by Bopp and Burnouf.

This is the testimony of our Honorary President in favor of the authenticity of the Zand language an opinion which has been deemed worthy of adoption by the majority of the learned Orientalists of the continent of Europe.

The opinion of Mr Richardson has been strongly opposed by several learned Orientalists amongst them.\*

Adelung in his *Mithredates* advanced in opposition to Richardson that the invention of the language is contrary to all probability and that the Zand must be considered as a real language which was once actually spoken." Vide page 346 No. 8 of 1837 Journal of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland with introductory remarks of the learned professor H. H. Wilson chiefly a comment upon Mr J Romer's Illustrations of the Zand and Pehlvi languages.

The able opinion of Mr A. Troyer is as follows —

"These works, parts of which only existed in England were then for the first time translated into an European language, and published in French by Anquetil. Examined as monuments of an ancient religion and literature of the Persians, they have been differently appreciated by learned men and their authenticity denied by some among whom

\* Adelung in his *Mithredates*. Kleuker *Abung Zam Zend Avesta*. Mulls *Flores* in Reply to *Bengal Critique*, P. 8  
Mill's *British India* by Prof. Wilson Vol. I P. 420-430. Note.

the most conspicuous, are Sir W Jones, Richardson, and Meiners, and defended by others, by none with more zeal than John Frederic Kleuker, who not only translated Anquetil's *Zand-Avesta* into German, in three volumes, but in an appendix of two volumes (all in quarto) commented and discussed with great judgment, sagacity, and erudition, all that relates to the Zand books attributed to Zoroaster\*\*

Sir W Jones, one of the Presidents of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, sees no reason to deny the authenticity of the Zand language, simply because as he says, he was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanskrit†

Sir William candidly admits the superiority of the first Persian language,‡ as the mother of the Sanskrit, and he contradicts his own statement by the following words

"The language of the Zand was at least a dialect of the Sanskrit, while in the same discussion on the contrary, he declares that the language of the first Persian Empire was the mother of the Sanskrit, and consequently of the Zand and Persian as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothic,"§

We do not agree with Sir W Jones in the opinion that the Zand is a dialect of the Sanskrit, the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Zand do not establish such a theory. There are abundant proofs however, that the Sans-

\* Eng Trans Dabistan Vol I P 223 Note

† Sir W Jones's work of 1807 Vol III P 118

‡ Sir W Jones's works of 1807 Vol III P 133

Asiatic Researches of 1807 Vol II P 64

Transaction R A S G B & I Vol III P 525

Mulla Fnoz in Reply to Bengal Critique P 5, 6

Penny Cyclopaedia Vol XVII P 479

§ Sir W Jones's work Vol III P 132-133

krit is a dialect of the first Persian language. If the learned orientalist had investigated the origin of both the Zand and Sanskrit languages according to the principles of Comparative Philology he would not have maintained an opinion unfavorable to the independence of the Zand language, because when tested by the rules of grammar the Zand has equal claims to be regarded as an independent language as the Sanskrit, and this opinion is strongly corroborated by the learned philologists of the present day such as Professors E. Rask E. Burnouf F. Bopp Dr Wilson C. Lassen and others who maintain that Zand is a language independent of the Sanskrit.

Here I shall not only express my gratitude to those philologists for their valuable opinions but must also testify to their close investigation of the Oriental languages. If Sir W. Jones be inexpressibly surprised &c, it will be no marvel to oriental scholars who know that he never made any attempt to examine the origin of the Zand language by a minute comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit words before expressing his unsupported opinion. In support of the view I have taken, I beg to offer the following testimony of the late Lieut. Colonel Vans Kennedy —

“For the Zand Vocabulary after rejecting words inserted more than once, religious terms, and proper names, consists of 664 words and ought, consequently according to Sir W. Jones’s opinion, to contain at least 308 Sanskrit words. But on examining it I find that it only contains seven Arabic, ninety three Persian, and eighty three Sanskrit words, with thirty that may be either Persian or Sanskrit but, as they are found in a language alleged to have been spoken in Persia, they ought to be ascribed to the

former, and there will be 123 Persian, and fifty three Sanskrit words only, or rather less than one twelfth of the whole 511 words, therefore, out of 664 remain which do not belong to either, Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit, or to any other known language”\*

There then we see that in 664 Zand words only 83 Sanskrit words occur instead of at least 398 Sanskrit words required according to Sir W Jones's calculations, from this investigation it appears that Sir W Jones's curious speculation is contradicted by the correct calculation by Vans Kennedy

The opinions of the European Orientalists, and of the Classical writers in opposition to the authenticity of Zand language are mere speculations, and hyperbolical calculations, and they do not prove the Zand to be a fabricated language of comparatively recent date

The late Lieut Colonel Vans Kennedy concurs with Sir W. Jones, and says “that the Zand, as a pretended language, invented by the Parsî Priests and never actually spoken or written by any people upon the face of the earth” This opinion of the Orientalist is wholly founded upon the unsupported authorities of others

In my humble opinion he would have drawn quite a different conclusion, had he examined the authenticity of the Zand language by Comparative Philology, instead of by making a comparison of Zand and Sanskrit words I do not see any reason why the language should be considered a pretended one If the language never existed in Persia, how then could the Sassanian King Ardesher Bâbagân have succeeded in restoring the religion and literature of the

\* Vans Kennedy on the Origin of languages 1828 P 172 173

Persian Empire about the year 225\* of the Christian era.\*

This fact has been handed down from generation to generation, by written or oral testimonies even to the present time. Further if the learned orientalist had taken a little more trouble and pains to examine the contents of the Yaçnâ, Vendidad, Visparad &c. he would not have confirmed this opinion that the Zand is a pretended language.

That the Zand was a genuine language actually existing in Persia is quite apparent from the testimonies of the Greek Authors. The works composed by Zoroaster in the 4th century B. C. are noticed by Aristotle Plato and Theopompus, who showed a knowledge of his works.† If the language was never actually spoken by any people on the face of the earth, how then could those works have been composed by Zoroaster in that sacred language! and how could the Greek authors have mentioned the language when it never did exist in Persia!

In support of the authenticity of the Zand language if it be still objected that the language was never actually spoken by any people on the face of the earth I beg to refer to the following opinion of the learned Alexander Chodsk:

"The destructive influence of Islam has not yet done its work. We are told that on the banks of the Araxes in Karadagh, whole villages speak the Zand. The Goudars of Asterabad profess a religion, and speak a language which have nothing in common with their Mussulman countrymen."‡

\* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI. Part I. P. 180 Note 4. and Bible Cyclopaedia Vol. II. P. 228.

† Eng. Trans. Dabistan or school of manners 1834 Vol. I. P. 224 Note I.

‡ Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia of MDCCXVIII P. 465.



Further the learned Orientalist says "But I venture to affirm nothing dogmatically let the learned decide I only ask, can we consider as merely accidental such a confluence of hints coming in support of the assertion, that the Zand language, far from being known only to a privileged caste, was on the contrary spoken by the whole Persian nation? Otherwise, how could the ignorant foresters of Ghilan and Mazenderan have retained it?"\*

From the above testimony it is proved most decidedly that the language did formerly exist in Persia, or else how could the ignorant foresters of Ghilan and Mazenderan have retained it?

Mr Römer, formerly a member of council and acting Governor of Bombay, is laboring for the last twenty years, with all his learning and ability up to this moment to establish his own point of argument, that the Iranian languages are pretended ones, but as yet he has not succeeded in his ingenious undertaking to prove his supposition, on any reasonable foundation before the literary world Mr Römer, in his welcome letter to my address says as follows

"In fact nothing more than artificial languages, invented after the arrival of your forefathers in India"

This I beg to be permitted to say is but an unsupported assertion, and not the logical conclusion arrived at by valid Philological reasoning from the character, elements, and structure of the language

If the language were forged or fabricated by my forefathers would it ever stand the test as it does of Comparative Philology?

In the opinion of Philologers the fabrication of such a copious language is utterly improbable

\* Vide p. 461 of the foregoing work.

I must therefore strongly protest against the conjecture of Mr Romer and his followers

I would again simply ask whether on the supposition of such a fabrication Comparative Philology is not perfectly capable of detecting the forgery of a language?

Mr Romer must observe that in the foregoing pages particularly in reply to the very hypotheses of Schlegel and Richardson I have proved that Zand Avesta formerly existed in Persia before my forefathers came into India.\* Otherwise how could the Greek Latin Arminian Arabian and other authors who lived before and after Christ refer to several extracted passages and principal words from the Zand Avesta† in their respective works when they knew nothing of my forefathers of Western India who are said

+ Vide above p p. 6 & 8.

‡ Vide Hermippus, as quoted by Pliny lib. XXX. C. I. Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*. Theopompus who lived 340 years before Christ, informs us, as quoted by Plutarch. De Isideet Osiride Plato, Aristotle, show a knowledge of Zoroaster's works. The works attributed to Zoroaster are mentioned under different names by Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Pausanias, Pliny and Dion Chrysostomus, St Clement of Alexandria, in the third century was not unacquainted with them. Orat. Beryth, Saldas, Ensebius in *Praepar Evang.* p. 42 and Strabo, (*Geog lib XV* p. 733) D. B. Moses of chorone (see Hyde *Rel. Vet. Pers.* p 16 & 385.)

Mohammed Abu Jafar Ebr Jenirel Tabari. (Hyde 317-319) Abu Muhammed Mustapha, in his life of Guabtasr or Hystaspr. Tabari, M. asuli & Jona bar Bahlul, mentions Abistogo, (or Avesta) Hyde *Vet. Pers.* p 337 *Mém. del. Acad. des. Inscript.* Vol XXXVIII. p p 167-268 and also *Mém. des. Inscript.* ut supra p 173. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* 1820 Vol II p p 312 Note 337. Vide. p. 55. 58. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* herausgegeben vunder Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. unter der verantwortlichen Redaction, des Prof. Dr Hermann, Brockh. ja. 1 B. and. No. I. *Mithra* Von Dr Friedrich Windischmann. Leipzig 1857

by Mr Romer to have 'fabricated the language' long after Christ or about twelve centuries ago

It is for Mr Romer to show, how and in what manner the above named authors were aware of the contents of the Zand Avesta before and after Christ

Most of the Occidentalists and Orientalists have commented on and discussed a few of the passages of the Zand Avesta in their several works according to their ability and learning

I beg to refer to those authorities (in the succeeding pages) which will satisfy all candid inquirers and most particularly Mr Romer who has devoted so much of his time and talents to Oriental literature

Mr Romer must observe that the Parsis of India could not have predetermined to forge a language previous to their own existence, the existence of which the ancient Greek authorities corroborate and Cuneiform Inscriptions and monumental records support

Mr Romer coolly asks,

"Zend 'is it an original language?"

Most certainly it is an original language, and if he thinks it is a pretended language, I would simply solicit Mr Romer to inform me in what country and epoch, where and when was the language fabricated? Unless this very first hypothesis be established it is not fair to say that the language in question is a pretended one

Should Mr Romer, fail in this particular point of argument he will be considered by learned men as having lost his case

Mr J Romer in supporting others has expressed the opinion,

"That the Sanskrit supplied the frame-work upon which Zand has been constructed."

Hence I refer inquirers to the valuable introductory remarks by Professor Wilson, one of the Directors of the Royal Asiatic Society on Mr Romer's paper, and further I beg to say that if the learned gentleman had but compared the Grammar of the Zand and Sanskrit languages, he would never have incorrectly stated that the frame-work of the Zand is supplied by the Sanskrit. But we find by close investigation that the Zand is apparently a language independent of the Sanskrit, on which point the reader will be fully satisfied by referring to the succeeding pages under the head of comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit languages.

We see by a minute investigation that the Zand is apparently a language independent of the Sanskrit and of which the reader will be fully satisfied by just referring to the elaborate Comparative Grammar of Professor Bopp about which the most learned Professor Wilson of the Sanskrit language says as follows —

"Professor Bopp has taken the Zand for the basis of an extensive Comparative Grammar of it with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Teutonic tongues."†

We see also that Professor Bopp after a comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit languages has himself acknowledged the superiority of the Zand over the Sanskrit.

"The Zand Grammar can only be recovered by the process of a severe regular etymology calculated to bring back the unknown to the known, the much to the little for this remarkable language which in many respects reaches beyond

and is an improvement on, the Sanskrit, and makes its theory more attainable, would appear to be no longer intelligible to the disciples of Zoroaster Rask who had the opportunity to satisfy himself on this head, says expressly (V D Hagen p 33) that its forgotten lore has yet to be rediscovered”\*

Further he says “Just in the places where the Zand forms are of the most interest, and where are some which display that independence of the Sanskrit which Rask claims, perhaps in too high a degree, for the Zand, a language we are however unwilling to receive as a mere dialect of the Sanskrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin, as compared with the Greek, or the Old Northern with the Gothic For the rest, I refer the reader to my review of Rask’s and Bohlen’s treatises on the Zand in the annual of Scientific Criticism for December 1831, as also to an earlier work (March 1831) on the able labours of E Burnouf, in this newly-opened field”†

Resides this we see that the well known E Burnouf, Professor of the Zand and Sanskrit languages, after a most minute comparison, and from a close analysis of the Zand and Sanskrit, is of opinion that Zand roots are to be found in the Vedic Sanskrit

The learned reviewer of the “Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review” says as follows

“E Burnouf further considered that he had proved that the Zand was contemporaneous with the ancient dialect of the Vedas, and that, without being derived from Sanskrit, the two languages had a common source By a close analysis he

\* Bopp Comparative Grammar Eng Tran. 8d. Ed. Vol I P P IX

† Bopp comparative Grammar Eng Tran 8d Ed. Vol I P P, XII

discovered the Zand texts which are to be found in the Vedio Sanskrit.\*

After considering this investigation of F. Burnouf many learned orientalis have the opinion that Zand was an ancient language derived from the same source as the Sanskrit.

From the above opinion of the most learned philologists including the Revd Dr Wilson Dr Spiegel and others it is decidedly proved that the Zand has not derived its origin from the Sanskrit but is considered as a primitive language of the Arian nation.

Now will Mr Romer substantiate his theory from the principles of sound Philology?

The capital of Bactria or Bakh was not only the Royal Residence<sup>†</sup> of Peshdadian kings but was also the capital of all the Kanian kings and in the time of Gutasp or Hyrtasp the first rites of Zoroaster's doctrines in the Zand Avesta were adopted by the whole of the Persian Median and Bactrian nations. This fact was well known to their neighbours in surrounding countries as also occidental and oriental writers.‡ And the opinion of the latter are unanimously adopted by the learned men on the continent of Europe.¶

\* July MDCCCLIII No XII Vol III page 438.

† Eng Trans. of Dabistan Vol I page 221 Nols L. Out. Phil. Uni. Rev. Vol I p. 114.

‡ Hyde Religio Veterum Persarum I 312  
Ariana Antiqua P 121.

¶ Ariana Antiqua of 1811 P 121 Hyde Religio Veterum Persarum P 312 and Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions Vol LXXVII Zoroastrianism of F. Klunker appendix I 1 etc at § p. 307 etc Vid p. 237 Vol I Heeren's Historical Researches P 159 Vol II An Etymologic of the History of the World by John Hoyalund 16 L Vol II P 159

|| Zand Avesta or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians by Prof N. L. Wergeland V I L I refuso P 16  
The Bombay Quarterly Review of 1850 V L IV P 59

From the above testimonies it is positively 'proved that the Zand is the original language of Persia

The Aryan species of Arrow-headed or Cuneiform inscriptions, are the glorious monumental records of the most noble Achaemenian dynasty, and are still preserved as anti-relics of the ancient Persians \*

These inscriptions are found almost in tri-lingual and tultcial, in many parts of Persia, at Hamadân, Vân, and Behistan, also on the walls of the ancient palaces of Persepolis and Pasagadae

I have said in the foregoing pages, that I will prove by philological argument that the Cuneiform inscription is the sister Zand language

I now beg to solicit the attention of the society while I proceed to compare the Hagiographic words of the Zand Avesta with the Cuneiform Inscription of the Behistan, after rejecting several words which occur more than once as well as proper names of persons, provinces and things

Adam "I (am), The pronoun of the first person singular, and "am,, seems to be understood, compared by the European Philologers with the Zand regular pronoun *azem* I prefer comparing the word with the Zand pronoun Adēm, this word is used before the Z verb with the prep, *fia* as Adēm Framarum "I say,, or I "speak,,?

Bar (a) yawush, "Darius,, Noun Masc Nom Sing son of Vashtaspa, corresponding with modern Persian Dârâb †

K'hshayathiya "the King,, Nom. Sing compare the Zand Khshathra, the root Khsha "to rule with unlimited power, and thya the suffix

\* Egypt's place in universal History by Baron Bunsen Eng Trans by C H Cattrell Esq 1859 Vol III P 457 and 467

† Vide Ps. 185-188 Vol. XI Pt I J R A. S G B & I of 1849

Wazarka. Great. Masc. Nom. Sing. as adjective qualifying the noun Khshayathra comp. Mas. to 1. noun having derived from the Zand root "Wazr."

Khshayathra nam. "of kings" gen. plu. comp. Zand Khshathra nam. The "nam" the sign of the gen. plu. suffixes "the king of kings."

Paraya. "Persia" gen. sing. comp. with the Zand "Parrest," and in Modern Persian Farstan or Paratan and in Pehliv "Parc."

Dahyama. "of province" gen. plu. comp. Zand Dakhmanam or Dhkhyanam.

Vashtaspaiya. "Hyaspas" Masc. gen. sing. comp. Zand Vishtaspaiya the royal scribe of Zoroaster.

Putra, "son" Masc. nom. sing. answer in its direct sense to the Zand Puthra.

Arakhsaiya. "Arakhs" Masc. gen. sing. comp. the Zand Arakhsang†.

Napa. the "Grandson" Masc. nom. sing. comp. Zand Napu.

Hakhamanishiya. "Achæmænian" Masc. gen. sing. comp. Zand Hakmana compounded of "Hakha," "a friend or relative" "Mama," "mind," when taken together means "friendly minded."

Tisaiya. he says, third person. sing. from the Zand root Sash to say.†

Manâ, "of my" Pron. gen. sing. comp. Zand Mana. gen. sing. of me.

Pitâ, "father" Masc. nom. sing. comp. Zand Patâ.

Yasna. Ha. IV.

† See Burnouf, Yasna P. p. 437 and 40.

J. R. A. S. G. R. and I. Vol. XI Pt. I p. 1 No. 2.

‡ J. R. A. S. G. R. & I. Vol. XI Pt. I p. 17.



Ariyatamana "Ariatannes,, The proper name of the third ancestor of Darius, Masc nom sing this compound word is derived from the Zand Ariya "excellent,, and Râman "pleasure,,

Chishpaish "Teispes" Masc gen sing comp „The Zand root "chis,, in adjective form signify "sensible,, and the Noun Pâyush "protector,, agreeing proper N Chishpaish

Awahyaratîya "on that account,, The first elymon "awa,, answer to the Zand Ava "that,, the remote demonstrative pronoun, and the second syllable compare to the Zand hyâre "to be,,? but "hyaratîya,, according to Sir C Rawlinson's way signifies "account,, a noun used with the pronoun and rendered it in the sense of "on that account,, which agree with the Zand "that to be,, or "on that account,,

Wayam "we,, pro first pers nom plural answer to the Zand Vaêm

Thahyâmahya "appellamur,, 1st pers plu, present passive, the primitive form "Thah,, agree with the Zand root "shah,, to say or to call, and the secondary form is merely a personal termination "mahaya,, It is used below Hakhamnishya "Thahyamahya,, "we are called"

Hachâ "from,, pre comp Zand Hacha

Par'uvîyat "antiquity,, ablt sing agreeing Zand "parowat,, "first,, or "ancient,,

Amâ? tá "Orundi" "(invicti),, Owing to the decayed state of the tablet Sir Rawlinson has deciphered on the supposition but the word will answer to the original Zand word "Amavata,, "brave,, or "hero,,

Amahya "we are,, present tense, first person, plural comp, Zand "ahmah,,

Hyâ "those,, Rel. pron. gen. plu. comp Zand hyâ above amak'ham.

Amak'ham. of our,, masc. gen. plu. agreeing with the Zand ahmakem.

Tumâ "race,, masc. gen. sing below ahmakham. Comp Zand taokhma, the "kb" is merely mute in tauma.

Aha Fuere Imperfect active, third pers. plu. compare with the Zand Aeghên?

Tiya. qui that which" Nom. Sing that and who compare with the Zand pronominal stem "ta. and the relative "ya,, 'that who,, or that which

Par'uam. "prior,, Sing "before,, used above K'hshaya thiya agree with the Zand Paourvâm.

Nawam "ninth,, nom sing comp. the Zand Nava,,  
Dhuvitatar (a) nam. "long time adverb used below nawam.—

Washna. grace,, from the word will, or wish masc. instru sing comp Zand Vashâ

Aurama'dâha "Ormuzd." Proper noun. gen. sing used above washna comp Zand Ahurama da.

K'hshatram "empire,, Neu. acc. sing from the Zand root "Khalis" comp. the Zand regular acc Khshathrom

Frâbara "granted third per sing often used in Zand as well as in the inscription Fra inseparable prop. but here it is used with the verb "bara,, comp Zand barat. he granted.

The above analysis as to the etymological construction and grammatical forms, of the language of inscriptions, enables me to discover the Zand roots in the inscriptions, therefore from the foregoing analysis and by the help of Comparative Philology it clearly appears that the language

of the inscriptions is no other than a sister Zand language.

This opinion was first promulgated by M A D Perion, Dr Grottefend, M St Martin, and latterly it was supported most strongly by the distinguished European Orientalists, that the Cuneiform Inscription language is more akin to the Zand than the other Asian family of languages.\*

The Cuneiform inscription is no doubt a synchronical language to the Zand and it is also made analogous with the Sanskrit language according to the rules of Comparative Philology, by the American Orientalist Mr Salisbury, but it seems to me that the analyser is perfectly right in his undertaking with the exception of a very few words which show his limited acquaintance with the Zand language; he has headed the foundation of analysing with Sanskrit in which he is wrong.

However he himself acknowledges that his principal guidance for a reference to the Zand was Prof Burnouf Com. sur Le Yaçna. So I cannot blame the author for such critical mistakes, but merely point out those words which deserve some notice. Instead of comparing with the Zand Avesta he has compared with the Sanskrit viz

Baga, hya, humin, martiyam, âkunusha, parunâm, dahyunâm, hakhamanishuya &c. &c †

Besides these there are many words which require some explanation to which I beg to call the attention of the learned critic, and at present I must condense my remarks within a few lines

In deciphering the Cuneiform Inscriptions we always see that the great difficulty encountered by the European Orientalists is chiefly owing to their limited knowledge of the

\* Vide p 11 Note \*

† See app Note C

Zand language but still we are thankful to the great and successful labours of Dr Grotfand St Martin C Lassen, E Burnouf, and most particularly to the distinguished British Orientalist Sir H C Rawlinson who has opened a new field for the Historical account of the paramount nation and whose accounts are darkly comprehended within the age of the old world. The field is still open for many who may undertake to investigate the true origin of the Arian family

Mr Romer has addressed several letters to the newspaper Editors and some articles have recently appeared in pamphlet forms under various headings regarding the Iranian languages. They require no refutation from me but for the fact, that the question is one of vital importance to orientlists in general

As for Mr Romer's hyperbolic theory, I leave it entirely to learned Orientalists to decide by a fair criticism

Mr Romer while supporting his assertion that the Zand language is a forged one has cited the examples of the celebrated Formosan language, and the Asmāni Zabān of the Dazātir and the Pasado tongue \*

As to the Dazātir and Pasado languages, I leave the question to some future discussion.†

The assertion that the Formosan language is genuine, does not stand on a solid foundation. It merely achieved a temporary success. It does not stand amongst the genuine languages when tested by the light of comparative Philology. This example of Mr Romer proves the Zand language to be original. If we admit it to be a forged language it must come within the same rank as the Formosan language

\* Page, 40 Zand — Is it an original language? by Mr Romer

† App. Note D

The Formosan language was forged by P<sup>al</sup>manazar of whom the learned Mr. Trower says as follows \*

"This adventurer who was bold enough, while on the Continent, to set about inventing a new character and language, a grammar, and a division of the year into twenty months, published in London, although not twenty years old, a translation of the catechism into his forged language of Formosa, and a history of the island with his own alphabetical writing, which read from right to left—a gross fiction, the temporary success of which evinces the then prevailing ignorance in history, geography and philology. But pious zeal and fanaticism had changed a scientific discussion into a religious quarrel, and for too long a time rendered vain the objections of a few truly learned and clear-sighted men, until the imposter, either incapable of supporting longer his pretensions, or urged by his conscience, avowed the deception, and at last became a truly learned good and estimable man.† We see this example badly supports the cause of (considering the Zand to be a) forged languages."

From the above conclusion and Mr. Romer's own evidence of the language it does not appear that he can support his speculation about the Zand, but on the contrary it clearly appears that the Formosan language and its neology, are no more than modern rubbish. If therefore the Zand language be classed under the same head by my

\* Vide Eng Trans Dabistan Vol I Preface Page LXXII LXXIII

† "This change took place in his thirty-second year he learned Hebrew and became an honest man, esteemed by Samuel Johnson, he wrote eleven articles in a well-known work, the Universal History, and his own life at the age of seventy-three years, the latter work was published after his death, which happened in his eighty-fourth Year in 1763"

learned friend it must fall in the same category as the Formosan language

It is patent to all orientalisists that the forgery of a language will never stand the test of comparative Philology and no philologist will dare to shew the invention of the language. But on the contrary we find Orientalists in general admitting the genuineness of the Zand language and several works have been published on this subject under distinguished patrons on the Continent of Europe proving that the Zand language did actually exist in Persia

Before I take a review of the Zand and Sanskrit languages by analysis and by comparative Philology I must ask Mr. Homer and others who are of his opinion if the Zand is derived from the Sanskrit and if the Sanskrit is an aboriginal language of India I dare say that the Sanskrit was introduced as a foreign language into India from Iran. In proof of this assertion I beg to quote several authorities amongst them is one whose opinion Mr. Homer has no objection to subscribe to I mean that learned Orientalist Sir W. Jones. He tells us in his sixth Discourse on the Persians before the Asiatic Society of Calcutta that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of the Sanskrit and consequently of the Zand and Parsi as well as of Greek, Latin and Gothic\*\*

Professor Heeren mentioned the opinion of Father Paulino and Dr. Leyden who are unanimous with Sir W. Jones in this opinion†

‘The question whether the Sanskrit was an aboriginal Indian language, has been variously answered Sir W.

\* Asiatic Researches 180 F. Ed. Vol. II Page 64

† Heeren's Hist. Rom. Vol. II Page 112

Jones is of opinion that the principal Asiatic nations and dialects were derived from Persia; and also that conquerors from the latter country invaded India, and brought with them their own language,\* to which cause he attributes the striking resemblance between the Sanscrit and the Zend, one of the most ancient Persian dialects. Farther Paulino, who is so fond of contradicting Jones in every thing else, is at on this point however, unanimous with him † The name of the later antiquary Dr. Leyden, to whom I shall soon have occasion to refer would certainly add much weight to this opinion, provided we were sure that the extent of his philological acquirements embraced a sufficient knowledge of the Zend also."

Professor Rask especially in reply to Mr. Erskine, on the Zand language and Zand Avesta, says as follows ‡

"First, it is remarkable that other learned men (amongst whom is Sir W. Jones) have supposed, on the contrary, that Sanscrit was introduced as a foreign language into India from Iran, and one cannot help thinking this much more likely, supposing that the great conquest or migration which spread Sanscrit all over the northern."

This opinion is most strongly supported by the learned Philologer Frank and others §

"It has been lately asserted by an eminent philologist,

\* "Works, Vol. I P 26, etc And with respect to the Zend especially, P P 82 83 in his Discourse on the Persians, "I was not a little surprised, says Sir W., "to find that out of ten words in Du Perron's Zend Dictionary, six or seven were pure Sanskrit." For the above assertion of Sir W. Jones, and others,,—See foregoing P 16 18 of this work.

† "In his treatise, De Affinitate Linguae Sanscritae Indicæ et Persicæ"

‡ Trans R A S G B & I Vol. III Page 525

§ Penny Cyclopaedia Vol. XVII Page 479

Frank that the Parsi is the mother of the Sanskrit others with Schlegel maintain that the contrary is the case but if we consider the greater simplicity of the Parsi the former opinion seems the most probable "

The great Orientalist Mulla Feroz after corroborating the opinions of Sir W Jones and Maurice says —

"The learned Sir W Jones was of opinion that Iran or Persia was the country from which all the nations of the earth derived their origin "

It being according to him the place whence people migrated in all directions and in which migration they of course carried their language along with them he supposes that the language of the first Persian Empire was the mother of the Sanskrit and consequently of the Zand and Parsi as well as of Greek, Latin and Gothic. He goes further to say the inhabitants of Britain first came from Armenia and that the Goths or Scythians first came from Persia. *Vide Asiatic Researches* Pages 64 65, and *Flowers of Persian Literature* Pages 45 47 "+

From the above unanimous opinion of so many learned Orientalists it clearly appears that the Sanskrit is not the primitive language of India, but derived its origin from the first Persian language or we may safely say it was introduced into India from the mother country Asia or Iran therefore its superiority over the Zand is most improbable

The Sanskrit instead of supplying the frame work to Zand owes its own existence to this ancient Persian language

\* *Vide* Page 5. The reply to the Bengal critiqua. by Mulla Feroz.

+ *Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Airo Goll, or ancient Irish* 1802 by Lieut. Genl. G. Vallancey Intr P L. see app. Note. E.



## PHILOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF THE ZAND AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGES.

Before comparing the Philology of both these languages, I may observe that the Zand writings proceed from right to left and the Sanskrit from left to right

As to the mechanical construction of the Alphabets of both these languages, I put the subject aside at present, as I cannot condense it into a narrow compass. I simply propose to compare the characters of the languages.

In the Zand language there are forty-eight letters, twelve regular vowels and thirty-six consonants, and in the Sanskrit, forty-seven letters, fourteen regular and irregular vowels and thirty-three consonants.

In Zand there are twelve primitive vowels, and amongst them there is one which I would call the Anusvara, and which is superior to the Sanskrit Anusvara.

The Sanskrit Visarga does not exist in Zand.

In Sanskrit, I deem it necessary to divide vowels into two parts, proper and improper, my reason being, that it is not positively decided by European Grammarians as to how many vowels there are.

The learned Professor Wilson puts down in his Sanskrit Grammar fourteen vowels according to the rules of Indian Grammarians, whose opinions on this head, Professor Burnouf subscribes to. Professor Bopp, in his extensive comparative Grammar, reduces vowels from fourteen to eight, and Professor M. Williams is of the same opinion.

Now whatever reasons may have induced these learned professors to adopt their respective divisions as above stated, I am decidedly of opinion that in Sanskrit, there are six

regular vowels viz the three primitive Guna and three augmented Veriddhi, and two semi vowel viz total eight and the remaining six are proper and improper diphthongs which the Philologists class as vowel and bring up the total to fourteen

But by close investigation it appears to me that the principal vowels are only six with Guna and Veriddhi

In Zand then are apparently twelve regular vowels with Guna and Veriddhi but not so imperfect as the Sanskrit vowels and they bear a most natural appearance while combining with the consonants No one can deny this fact which is so clear

The superiority of the Zand vowel system over the Sanskrit is acknowledged by Professors Burnouf, Bopp and Lassen

In Sanskrit there are three proper diphthongs viz ai au and āi and three improper diphthongs viz e, o and ar

That there is no triphthong in Sanskrit is well known to the Philologists

In the Zand language according to my own recent investigation there are more than twenty proper and improper diphthongs and ten triphthongs

In the Sanskrit there are only thirty three consonants but in the Zand there are thirty six with a regular classification

The Sanskrit language has five semi vowels and the Zand seven

If we treat the subject of the orthographical system of both the languages it will be quite evident that the Zand characters constitute a theory more attainable than the Sanskrit I beg to refer inquirers to the Elaborate Com

mentaire Sur le Yaçna by Burnouf, and extensive Comparative Grammar by Bopp

Five years ago I compared the Zand alphabets with several Asiatic and European languages. In this comparison the Zand letters answered in orthographical system, and were equally capable of articulation. The origin of the language is thus shown to be most natural in point of vowel and consonantal combination.

In the Asiatic and European languages parts of speech are so common that they are well known to the learned, but I must point out a few discrepancies, which exist between the Zand and Sanskrit languages which are of much importance in this discussion \*

On this point, I beg to refer inquirers particularly to M. Burnouf Yaçna and his several articles in the Asiatic Journal of Paris, Bopp's Comparative Grammar, Dr Spengel, Professor Lassen and others, who have devoted most of their time to the study of comparative Philology, and whose works clearly show the superiority of the Zand over the Sanskrit language.

Allow me to take a review of the primal words of the Zand and Sanskrit languages by the aid of comparative Philology, which is most essential in finding out the fundamental origin of the language.

Compare the following words of the two languages.

*Zand*

*Sanskrit*

Arya Vaéju †

Arya Vartta

Hindo

Hindo or Sinddhu.

Bakhda

Bahlhka.

Yama

Yama

\* See app Note F

† App Note G

Thraetana  
Homa.

\* Trita or Traitana  
Soma.\*

From my humble investigation in various other instances it evidently appears that the Greek Jew, Arab and even Sanskrit scholars, have used the Zand and Persian names of Kings Countries Provinces and things according to the rules of their own articulations, and disregarded the Arian languages

The following examples will clearly prove my assertion

The original term Airya in its direct etymological sense signifies a mother country or the birth place of the Arianians But the term Airya is used by the ancient Persians in the plural instead of the singular number and is thus made Aran or Iran

The Hebrew writers ingeniously converted this word from Aran into 'Elam by changing the initial vowel "a" into 'e' long and the semi vowels r and n into l and m the word, 'Flam" signifies the father of the Persians

The Arabian writers changed the last n into k, and called it "Arak and the word used by the Greek in singular number Aria."

It may be observed that in the oriental languages it is generally an established rule that most of the letters should be interchangeable particularly the semivowels l m n r, and s.†

As to the origin of the word Arian or Iran opinions of

\* Vide P. d. 141 to 143. Note Vol. I Wilson's Rig-Veda. Sanhita. 1850

† Wilson on Parsee Religion. P 348. 349. Note. J. R. A. S. G. B. & L. of 1840 Vol. XI. P 45. N. S. do. do. Vol. X. Pt. I. Page 31. Note 2

the most learned Orientalists are variously expressed, \* therefore I think it is fair to take a review of the word Arian

This word is derived from "Arya," but the Persians and the Hindus both claim that term for the name of their native land, and they are distinguished by the term Arya Vaejo, and A'rya Vartta so a great question is raised as to the geographical position of the respective countries, but thanks to the great labors of British and Continental Orientalists the claim of the Persians to it has been very ably proved by the most modern researches †

The term A'rya Vartta is commonly applied to the whole extent of India, and according to Hindu geographers A'rya Vartta signifies "The holy land, the country extending from the eastern to the western sea and bounded on the north and south, by the Himāla, and Vindhya, mountains ‡

Mr Curzen, who took a most active part in this discussion, translated from the original s'loka the following description of its boundaries

\* Page 120 to 122 *Ariana Antiqua* J R A. S G B & I Vol. XVI  
Page 191 J R A. S G & I of 1852 Vol. XIII Pt 2 Page 275 to  
309 Humbolt's *Cosmos* Vol I Page 15 *Asiatic Researches* Vol  
2 page 64 to 65 *The Origin of Language* by Fumar P 188 189  
Notes Max. Muller *Survey of Languages* of 1855 S Edn P 27 Note

† Bunnouf's *Comt Sur Le Yaçna* Tom I P 326, 460 Note 325 P  
LXII and also P IXJ P LXIJ

J C Prichard's *Natural History of Man* Page 165

J R A. S G B & I of 1849 Vol XI Pt I Page 22 Note 2 P 44 46.

• Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* Page 121 122

Heeren's *Historical Researches* Vol I P 88, 60, 208 N 3. 209, 210

W Ouseley's *Travels in the E* Vol. I P 428

*Asiatic Researches* Vol 2 Page 49-58

‡ Hoyland's *History of the world* Vol I P, 306 to 307

‡ Professor Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary* P 90

As far as the sea to the east and sea to the west between those two mountains, lies the country which the intelligent know as Āryā-varita = Mann II 22 \*

Although many authorities may be cited by the learned men who have supported various opinions on the subject from Puranas and Vedas of the Hindus, yet to a careful examiner it will be apparent that the evidences so adduced contradict each other because the word Arya-Varta in its direct etymological sense does not convey any of the following meanings —

Brahma Varta, Bharata Khund Hindustan or India Proper "†

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* says with regard to the word in question — But it is no longer used as a national name except as applied, to the holy land of the Brahmans, which is still called Arya Varta the abode of the Aryas ‡

At the same time we must be informed in what part of the country this Holy land is situated because the Reviewer himself acknowledges on the authority of the Vedas that In the later dogmatical literature of the Vedic age the name of Arya is distinctly appropriated to the three first castes of the Brahmanic society Thus we read in the Satapatha brahmana Aryas are only the Brahmans Kshatriyas and Vaisyas for they are admitted to the sacrifices They shall not speak with every body for the gods did not speak with every body but only with the Brahman the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya. If they should fall into a conversation with a

J. R. A. S. G. B. & L. Vol. XVI. Page 192.

† See also p. note H.

‡ Edinburgh Review of 1851 Vol. 91 P. 315

Súdra, let them say to another man 'tell this Súdra so.'  
Thus is the law for an initiated man "

In support of the above assertion there are no direct or indirect evidences, that the A'rya Varta is either called India Proper or the abode of the Hindus.

The important question regarding the term A'rya Varta, I beg to leave in the hands of the learned to decide, whether we are to believe the Vedic age or the tradition of Manu

In the Vedas the title "Arya" is given to the three first castes of Brahmanical Society\* and the same term is mentioned in Manu (VI-21-24) as the name of the holy land. Let any one make a comparison of this Vedic and Manu, significations of the word Arya, and he will perceive how far the Veda and Manu are contradictory of each other, and there is no positive proof, that the term Arya Varta, was used in the ancient times to distinguish India Proper as is supposed by few of the European modern authors

From the sure testimonies of the Hindus own Vedas, even granting great latitude to their views, they do not prove that the term Arya Varta was the name of their country Hindustan; and from this investigation as well as according to the opinions of Sir W Jones, and others it is positive that the Hindus are merely foreigners, who settled in India at the time when the great emigration took place from A'rya or Iran †

At a public meeting of the Relief Fund, which was presided over by our amiable Governor Lord Elphinstone, our Honorary President Dr. Wilson, one of the learned orienta-

\* Edinburgh Review Page 315 Vol. 94, of 1851

† Asiatic Researches Vol. 2 Page 64 65 Humboldt's Cosmos Vol I  
Page 15

lists of the day delivered himself on the subject as follows \*

The first Scythian settlers in this country—and as far as our information goes they were the first of the race of Adam who looked on its natural wonders or participated in its natural bounties,—were many centuries before the Christian era, either crushed into slavery or driven to the south by the mightier and more intelligent Aryas, from eastern Arya or Iran, from whom are sprung the Brahmans Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, whose representatives, we trust, will yet have the happiest destiny. The Vedas abound in notices of the conflicts of the white Aryas with the black haired Dasyus. Barbarian invaders of varied names and designations nursed in the invigorating climes north of the Hindu Kush soon afterwards, proved too strong for the Aryas, debilitated by the climate though they effected not in every instance permanent settlements in India."

A monthly magazine, Gayandipak published at Surat, contains the following valuable remarks on the subject†

"It may now be regarded as proved beyond all reasonable doubt that India is not the original country of the twice-born Hindus as a people professing the Brahmanical faith. Their birth place was a country beyond the Himalaya mountains. Their sacred language, with its close affinity to those of ancient Media and Persia, and their primitive religion with its striking resemblance to the system of the Zoroastrians, alike indicate their trans-Indian origin. Thence at an early period they brought the religion of the Veda into north west of India, where in a corner of the Punjab, they were first known as a tribe of foreign

\* The Bombay Times, July 23rd 185. Page 1353 and Vide p. 1 to 21 India Three Thousand Years Ago by J. Wilson. D D F R. S.

† Gayandipak Surat October 1st 185. P. 19 to 22u.



ners And there is every reason to believe that, for many years, they did not spread beyond the northern districts of the country. It is certain also that at this period the differences of professions and social position among them had not been stereotyped into the fixed and exclusive distinctions of the caste system. The sons and daughters of priests, soldiers, and merchants, intermarried and social intercourse was still unrestricted".

"These ancient immigrants into India distinguished themselves by the name *Aria*, that is "noble, well born," a designation which belonged also, as we learn from the Greek historian Herodotus, to the ancient inhabitants of Media, and may be traced in the modern *Arī*, and *Arīkh*, still applied by the Armenians to the natives of that country. The "well-born" were afterwards designated "twice-born," their second birth being supposed to take place at the period of investiture with the *Janowī* (Sacred cord) to which only pure *Arīans* were entitled.

The great Orientalist C. Lassen who, devoted most of his time to the researches of Ethnographical subjects came to the conclusion that the Hindus are foreign settlers in India (from *Āiran* or Eastern Iran). The learned Orientalist after a most minute comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit languages, by the aid of comparative Philology, says\*

"We can conceive only one route on which the *Ārīa* Indians immigrated into India (from *Ārya* or Eastern Iran), they must have come to the Punjab from the Western Kabulistan. The roads, from the Oxus-country to the Eastern

\* "From the *Indische Alterthumskunde* Vol I" and English Translation In the *Oriental Christian Spectator* May 1857 Vol. 9 Page 175

Kabulistan into the valley of Panch-kom or into the Upper Indus-valley on the Pijit downwards and thence either down the Indus from Gilgit to Attock or from Gilgit across the high tableland of Deoth to Kashmir are now known to us as the most rough and the most arduous that exist and at no time appear as frequented or much used routes of connexion.\* Only the small tribes of the Dardas could be led on the second road from the Northside of the Hindukush into their highlands, not the mass of Arians into India. Through the western passes of the Hindukush go all the known and great expeditions of war and of nations and if we desire to bring the Ario Indians from Bactria to India, only this road is plausible †

I shall defer the present discussion as to the origin of the Hindûs to some future opportunity in the meantime I may prove the origin of the word Arian or Iran which is so important to the present discussion.

From the sure testimonies of the Persians or Parsas Zand Avesta and by the concurring evidences of the present investigation it is proved that Airya Vafju is the native land of their forefathers. These opinions are also corroborated by the Mosiac record which says that Elam is the father of the Persians,‡ and Persia itself is designated Elami in the old Testament.§

Besides this it is proved from monumental relics that the Persians are the descendants of the Arian family res

\* <sup>2</sup> Alterthumskunde P 27 P 38. P 418. P 420.

† \* Thus also Von Schlegel and others P 450. P 516.

‡ Sir Isaac Newton's, Chronological Table. P 2. Pickering Races of Man. Page XXXVI.

§ Bible Cyclopædia. Vol. II. P 209

pecting which a learned writer in the *Edinburgh-Review* says as follows

"But while this old name 'A'rya' fell afterwards into oblivion amongst the Hindus, it was more faithfully preserved by the Medians and Persians. In the *Zandavesta*, the first created and holy land is called *Āiryanem Vaejo*, 'the source of the Arians,' and this name was in later times transferred to Media, a country too far west to be mentioned in the *Zandavesta*. Herodotus was told in his Oriental travels, that the Medians originally called themselves *Ἀριοι*, and Hellanicus gives *Aria* as a synonyme of *Persia*. And now, that we can read, thanks to the wonderful discoveries of Rawlinson, Burnouf, and Lassen, the same records from which Herodotus derived his information, we find Darius calling himself in the Cuneiform inscriptions 'a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, and of Arian descent.' And when, after centuries of foreign invasions, and occupation, the Persian empire rose again to historical importance under the Sassanian sway, we find their Kings also calling themselves, in the inscriptions, decyphered by De Sacy, 'kings of the Arian and un-Arian races,' (*Iran va Aniran*, *Ἀριανῶν καὶ Ἀναριανῶν*)"

"This is the origin of the modern name of *Irian*. Again in the mountains of the Caucasus, we find an Arian race, the 'Ossetes,' calling themselves *Iron*, and a tribe of *Aru* was known to Tacitus in the forests of Germany. Here then we have the faint echoes of a name, which once sounded through the valleys of the Himalaya, and it seems but natural, that Comparative Philology, which first succeeded in tracing the common origin of all the nations, enumerated"

before should have selected this old and venerable title for their common appellation. \*

From the above comparative investigation we must conclude that the Persians are the primitive children of the great Arian family and besides this the same thing is proved from the Monumental relic of Darius according to the doctrine of the Zand Avesta. It is mentioned in the first Fargard of the Vendidad.

"Ormuzd said unto Spautiman Zoroaster"

The first abode of happiness and abundance which I created without any mixture of impurity was Airyanām Vaejā.†

This sacred testimony is firmly established by the unanimous opinions of the most learned Orientalists such as, Sir I. Newton, Sir W. Jones, Sir W. Ouseley, Sir J. Malcolm, Professor E. Burnouf, Professor O. Lassen, Sir H. Rawlinson, Professor Heeren and several others.

From the modern investigation after the primeval seat of mankind it is established that Airya Vaejā is the primitive abode of the Iranian nation. In proof of this I beg to offer the following extracts from the best authorities.

To the westward of the Indus not far from Bactria or from Balkh in the ancient Bactria‡ according to Lassen and Burnouf who have for the first time elicited an historical sense from the fragments of the Magian scriptures in the Vendidad and the Bouddahesch§ was the country

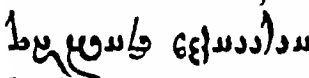
\* Edinburgh Review of 1851 Vol. 51 P. 315 to 319.

† Vendidad 1st Fargard and See app. Note I.

‡ "Burnouf Commentaire, Annotations.

§ "Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions system der alten Baktrer Meder, und Perser oder des Zendvolks von J. G. Rhede Frankf. 1820.

which the earliest traditions of the Persians point out as the primeval seat and paradise of their race "Eerene Veedjo, or the pure Iran, was the region of all delights, till Ahriman, the evil one, made in the river which watered Eerene the serpent of Winter"\*

"The traditions of their exodus and gradual colonization of Eastern Persia are preserved in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, where their primitive abode is named  Airyanēm Vaejo, "the source (or native land) of the Arians"†

"But while this old name Aīya fell afterwards into oblivion amongst the Hindoos it was more faithfully preserved by the Medians and Persians. In the Zand Avesta the first created and holy land is called Airyanem Vaejo the source of the Arians, and this name was in latter time transferred to Media, a country too far west to be mentioned in the Zand Avesta"‡

"The traditions of this race preserve some very important particulars respecting this descent, their ancient abodes and their gradual dissemination through the land of Iran. These traditions are preserved in the beginning of the Vandīdat, the most important, and it is probable, the most ancient of all their sacred books, the collection of which is styled the Zandavesta, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. The two first chapters of this work, entitled Fargards, contain the above traditions not wrapped up in allegory, but so evidently historical as to demand nothing more than the application of geographical know-

\* Prichard's *The Natural History of Man*, of 1843 P 164-165

+ J R A S G B & I of 1849 Vol. XI Pt I P 44

‡ *Edinburgh Review* of 1851 Vol 94 P 315-316

ledge to explain them.\* See the Appendix to the following Volume.

The word Hindu, is not to be found in any of the ancient Sanskrit works, or even in the Sanskrit Dictionary and its derivative word Hindustan is no where mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit religious or geographical works of the Hindus.

The etymology of the word Hindu it is vain to search for in Sanskrit works, as its root is derived from the Zand language †

In support of this assertion I beg to cite the following authorities.‡

The Knowledge which the Greeks possessed respecting India, previous to the time of Alexander was derived from the Persians. We do not find the name of Indian or Hindu in ancient Sanskrit works but the country east of the Indus has been known under this name by the western nations of Asia from the earliest times. In the Zand and Pehlvi languages it is called Henndo and in the Hebrew Hoddu (הודו Esther I, 1) which is evidently the same as the Hend of the Persian and Arabic geographers.”

The learned Maurice with whom Wilkins coincides, has the following to offer on the subject.§

“Indoo, or Hindoo he says, in Sanscreeet signifies the moon, and that from this luminary and the sun the Indian rajahs are fond of deducing their descent he therefore contends, in opposition both to ancient and modern geo-

\* Heeren's Historical Researches Asiatic Nations Vol. I P 209

† Ven' lidad Fargard 1st the word Hapta Hindu, Seven Indica

‡ Penny Cyclopaedia Vol. VII P 222

§ Maurice's Indian Antiquities Vol. I P 218 to 19

graphers, that the great river Indus takes its name from the people and not the people from the river Mr Halhed, however, on the contrary, asserts that Hindostan is a word entirely of Persian origin, equally unknown to the ancient and modern Sanscreeet, that the terms universally used for Hindostan, in the Sanscreeet language, are Bhertekhund, a word derived from Bherrut, one of the first Indian rajahs, whose name was adopted for that of the Kingdom, and khund, a continent or wide tract of land, and Jumboo-deep, compounded of Jumboo, a jackal, an animal remarkably abounding in this country, and deep, any large portion of land surrounded by water, and that it is only since the era of the Tatar government that they have assumed the name of Hindoo\*, to distinguish them from their conquerors, the Mussulmen"†

Professor Heeren, after a careful investigation of the geographical contents of the two first Fargards of the Vendidad comes to the conclusion that, "There can hardly be any doubt, that Hendo is the Zand form for Hind"‡

M Burnouf one of the most learned professors of the Sanskrit language, after a most minute inquiry into the analogical construction of the word Hindu says, that the word Hindu, is not an original Sanskrit word but of Zand origin, and in Sanskrit this word Sindhu answers the \*Zend word Hindo§

The authorities above quoted are clearly of opinion that

\* "See Mr Halhed's Preface to the Code of Gentoo laws P 22 quarto; and dow, Vol. I P 32."

† "Mr Wilkins likewise affirms, that the terms Hindoo and Hindostan are not to be found in the Sanskrit Dictionary"

‡ Heeren's Historical Researches Vol II P 315 Note 16

§ Burnouf Yagna. Tom. I P CXIJ CXX

the Sanskrit language owes its existence to the Zand and that the former is only an offspring of the latter

Professors Bopp, Lassen and others are also of the same opinion and hence I must conclude that the word Hindu is derived not from the Sanskrit but from the Zand language. India in former times was designated as Bharma Varta, and Bharattakhand but there is no direct evidence to show which of the two was the real name.

The word Sindhu is unjustly compared by the European Orientalists with the Zand word Hindu. The Sanskrit Sindhu does not designate India proper or even stand in the juxtaposition to the Zand Hapta Hindu, "Seven Indies" The significations of the word Sindhu are the following

'The ocean, the sea, the river and Indus or Sindh'\*

In the Ramayana Sindhu is mentioned as a place situated in the west the Puranas in the North

It is impossible therefore to decide the geographical position of the country from Hindu literature Professor Wilson is perfectly right in his following explanation of the subject.†

The term Sindhu shows their position to have been upon the Indus apparently in the Punjab "

From the above etymological researches it does not appear that the Sanskrit Sindhu is the birth place of Hindus No mention is ever made in the Hindu Shastras of Sindhu as the name of their mother country ‡

The Sanskrit word Sindhu is no doubt derived from the Persian word Sind converted into Sindh, and from that probably the word Hindu derived its name as the place of

\* Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary P 990.

† The Vishnu Purana by H. H. Wilson. Eng. Trans. Page 191 N 82

‡ See App. N J



the first Arie settlers.<sup>n</sup> Not more than two years ago, I delivered two successive lectures before the Sir Jamsetji Jijibhâe Philosophic Institute and proved at that time that both the words Hindu and Sindhu are derived from the Zend and Persian languages; and that the Hindus are merely Syathic settlers in India.<sup>+</sup> This proposition is firmly established by many learned men of the present day. Amongst them the learned Orientalist, Lassen, says as follows under the head, "Origin of the Indians" †

"We know, that in the code of laws, the Vindhya in the south is the frontier of Aryâvarta, like the Himalaya in the North, the ocean as a limit in the West and East, permits us to conclude, that, at that time the mouths of the Sindhus and of the Ganga had been reached by Arie settlers."

The Sanskrit form Bahlîka, is derived from the most ancient Persian word Bâkhter or Balkh. The term Bahlîka, is wrapped up in allegorical forms in some of the Puranas. As to its etymological researches, no one has taken so much pains, as the learned orientalist Professor H. H. Wilson. After a most comprehensive review of the word Bahlîka he says, ‡

"In some of the Puranas there seems to be an allusion to the Greek princes of Bactria, but the passages are obscure, and, in all probability, corrupt § These notices are of no great value, except that they confirm the antiquity of Balkh as the seat of an independent kingdom at some remote date,

\* "Bombay Times" of April 20th 1855 P 801

† The Oriental Christian Spectator Vol 9 No 6 Page 216

‡ Ariana Antiqua, Page 125 I bid. p 125.

§ "Translation of the Vishnu Purana, Page 478 and note


and tend to prove that it was connected in the relations of both peace and war with Hindustan

The learned orientalist doubts that the word Balkh has its origin in the Persian language and adds "it is questionable how far this name is derived from an Asiatic original."\*

Many of the learned men are also of the same opinion owing to the indefinite use of the terms by the old authors eastern and western. We see that the geographical position of this country is well preserved in the Zand Avesta according to the first Fargard of the Vendidad. The fourth place of delight created by Ormuzd was the pure Bakhdi (near More<sup>n</sup> and Nes<sup>n</sup>) which signifies decorated with lofty standards. Upon this point Professor Heeren says as follows —

From the books of the Zendavesta it would appear certain that they anciently possessed Aria and Bactriana as far as the Oxus and Indus."†

Sir C. H. Rawlinson distinctly states as follows —

'5 Lib VIIC 85, the Pactyans are a disputed race but may I think be compared with the Zand  Baghdhi, (Bakhdha) which by common consent is identified with Bactria".‡

In the above paragraph the word Baghdhi instead of Bakhdi, is most likely a typographical error

The primal word is Bakhdi obtained by reducing the word from the original Zand form in the acc — case, Bakhdem into Bakhdia, which corresponds in Pehlvi with Balkh, in

\* *Ariana Antiqua* Page 125.

† Heeren's *Historical Researches* Vol. I. Page 60. and Vol. II. P 314.

‡ J. B. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI Pt. I. P. 62 No. 5.

Persian with Bakhter<sup>1</sup>, in Sanskrit with Bahlaka and in Greek with Baktria

In this case it will be incumbent upon me to quote again Dr Prichard's authority, in order to show that he quite agrees with the opinion of the learned Orientalists C. Lassen and E. Burnouf, \*

"To the westward of the Indus not far from Bamian, or from Balkh, is the ancient Bactria,<sup>†</sup> according to Lassen and Burnouf, who have for the first time elicited an historical sense from the fragments of the Magian Scriptures in the Vendidad and the Boundehesch "<sup>‡</sup>

From the above quoted authorities, we have sufficient reason to believe, as also from the monumental relics of the great Behistun inscription in which Darius Vashtasp has preserved the true nomenclature of the original word Bactria, in the cuneiform inscription Bak'htarish,<sup>§</sup> that the word is of Arian origin

I must conclude therefore that, this Sanskrit word has apparently a Zando-Persian origin, but in former times it was used independently by foreign nations according to their own articulation.

From the unanimous testimonies above cited, I must affirm that it belongs to the Arian family of languages, of which I consider Zand to be the primitive language

From the etymological examination of these few Zand and Sanskrit words, it distinctly appears, that the Zand is

\* Prichard's Natural History of Man, Page 164 to 165

† "Burnouf Commentaire, Annotations."

‡ "Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions-system der alten Baktrier Meder, und Perser, oder des Zendvolks; von J G Rhode Frankf 1820

§ J R A S G B & I Vol X Pt I P I

an independent and primitive language, and that the Sanskrit is indebted to the Zand and the first Persian language for its existence.

If I take a more comprehensive review of the several Zand and Sanskrit words as regards their philological construction I shall trespass too much on your valuable time. This consideration prevents my entering more fully into the subject, and consequently I leave it for future discussion.

As promised in my last I must reply to the translator of Heeren's works and his dictator. They ask "Is it not rather a corruption of Sanskrit Chandas or of the most usual appellation of the Veda?"

I should think not. The Sanskrit word "Chandas" is not identical with the Arian word "Zand". The former in its literal sense signifies, Moon and the latter the name of the character which the Parsee Scriptures represent, hence I may conclude that the word Zand is not a corruption of the Sanskrit word Chandas. I may here quote Mr Curzon not in support of my argument but to point out the fallacy of his opinion. He says\* —

"The word I conceive, is only a modified form of the Sanskrit अभ्यास (abhyasta) "learned by heart" or committed to memory as a sacred precept, and seems to explain its connexion with ज्ञ (Zhand) or छन्द (Chhanda) the scriptures of Zaratusht.

Had the learned author taken an impartial review of both these words, he would not have fallen into the same error as W Von Schlegel. Could it be believed that a language, which is of great antiquity compared with the

Sanskrit, should derive its name from a language which had no existence at that period? It is pretty clear to an unbiassed mind that the word "Zand" is derived from the original word "Zantu"\* and not from the Sanskrit word "Chhanda" as the translator and Mr Guizon would persuade us to believe. It is more than I can explain, how it is believed by any one that a language so copious in its grammatical form should look to a foreign language for its designation.

The Sanskrit word "Chhanda" signifies "meaning" and "Abhyasta" "learned by heart" that neither of these words answers in their Philological sense to the Zand Avesta, is quite evident from the following

According to the universal belief of the Zoroastrians, Zand is the name of the character in which their scriptures are written, and Avesta that of the sacred language

The word Zand is derived from the word Zuntu, and the word Pehlvi in like manner from Pehlu, the name of a country

Besides the Zand Avesta has been handed down from generation to generation up to the present day from which it is quite evident that the Zoroastrians remnant in India are the followers of the ancient Zoroastrians

The universal belief that the Arian language existed in Persia is well established by the most decided opinion of the learned Orientalists of our day. Amongst them Sir W Jones is of opinion that, "We may therefore hold this proposition firmly established, that Iran or Persia in its largest sense, was the true centre of population, of knowledge of languages and of arts" †

\* Vide P 228 T I Burnouf Com Sur le Yaçna, J A S 1846 Mars P 260 & J A S 1846 Fèvr P. 135-138

† Asiatic Researches Vol 2 P 65

This clearly establishes that the Zand as well as the first Persian language are far superior to the Sanskrit and I do not see any reason why the Zand language should go to the Sanskrit for its name when the Persian language was near at hand quite prepared and ready to assist her offspring. The opinions of Sir W. Jones quoted above are strongly corroborated by Teyler Lassen Herken and others. Let any one compare the opinions of Mr Schlegel and Mr Curzon with those of Burnouf Brokhaus Dr Mitchell and others, and say which of them preponderate in favor of the Zand.

M. Burnouf arrives at the conclusion that the Zand roots are to be found in the *Vedic Sanskrit*.\*

The eminent Professor Bopp is unwilling to receive the Zand as the mere dialect of the Sanskrit†

Amongst our Sanskrit scholars one of the most able advocates for Sanskrit theology and literature J. Muir Esq speaks as follows —‡

"It is true that more may be said in favour of the hypothesis that the Zand has been derived from Sanskrit but there are sufficient reasons for believing that Zand is a sister and not a daughter of Sanskrit and consequently that both have a common mother of a more primordial date"

The most accomplished Scholar Wilson professor of the Sanskrit language has the following to offer on the subject —

"Now whatever doubts may be suggested by much that

\* Bombay Quarterly Magazine & Review Vol III P 438.

† Comparative Grammar Vol I P XII

‡ Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India 1860 P II, p. 275

is given in the religious text books of the Parsées of India, as Zend, it is highly probable that their ancestors carried with them the genuine names of places, persons and things, and that all such terms, still preserved in their extant sacred writings, are genuine relics of their ancient nomenclature. We may, therefore admit that Airya or Airyana, are old Persian words, and the names of that region to which the Hindus extended the designation of Airya, which the coins of the Sassanian princes denominate Iran, and which the Greeks of Alexander's time understood by Ariana\*\*.

The Hagiographic books of the Persians are a subject on which a great diversity of opinions has been entertained by Oriental scholars. Amongst them Sir C H Rawlinson, believes that the Zand Avesta is as old at any rate as the Vishtaspa and he expresses the following valuable opinion on the subject.

"That the Zand writings in their present state, are as old at any rate as the Sassanians, may be inferred from the testimony of Ammianus (lib XXIII C 61) and Agathias (lib I C 24) who both connect Hystaspes (the Veshtaspa of the Zend Avesta) with the establishment of the later Magism. Ammianus does not question but that this Hystaspes was the father of the great Darius, but Agathias notices uncertainty of identification. In the Zend fragments also, it is interesting to observe that Vishtaspa is the latest Achaemenian kings whose name occurs, and hence may be derived an argument that the hymns and prayers really date from that epoch"†

As to the date of the Zand Avesta the learned author

\* Ariana Antiqua P 122

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI Pt I P 186 N 4.

seems to have omitted it. But in his memoir on Cuneiform Inscriptions in the preliminary remarks, he observes as follows —

‘But notices of the fourth and fifth century B C are certainly deserving of consideration’\*.

I believe the fourth century B. C. is the true era of the Zand Avesta. Occidentalists and Orientalists are unanimous on this point.†

From the following observations it will appear how far their opinions are corroborated.

Tradition and the Eastern Authors as well as the Zand Avesta place Zoroaster as a prophet of the Persians into the reign of the Bactrian king Vistaspa, whom we call in modern Persian Gustasp or Kustasp, and the very striking evidence of the Greek authors who place Zoroaster in the reign of Hystaspes relates to no one than Vistaspes of the Zand Avesta. That Zoroaster lived in the time of Hystaspes is also proved by the fact that in the fourth century B. C. Plato Aristotle & Theopompus, showed a knowledge of Zoroaster’s works.‡ We may therefore safely assign the date of the hymns and prayers from the reign of Vistaspa.

\* J. R. A. S. G. R. & L. of 1840 Vol. X Pt. I P. 42 No. 1

† See app. Note. K.

‡ Vide P. 211 Note I P. 324 Note Vol. I The Dabistan or School of Manners 1843.

P. 55-58. Band I, No. 1. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft unter der verantwortlichen Redaction des Prof. Dr. Herman Brockhaus. Leipzig 1837, Mithra. Von Dr. F. Windischmann.

P. 167 268 Vol. XXXVIII. Mém. de l’Acad. des Inscript.

P. 337 Vol. II Trans. of the Literary Society of Bombay 1820.



Further in proof of this assertion, I beg to refer to the Eastern authorities who knew nothing of the Western Greek authors, but whose opinions fully coincide with them.

The well known Orientalist Mulla Feioz and Dustur Aspendyâijî Kâmdinjî of Broach established the epoch of Zoroaster as beginning four centuries B C\*

This epoch most naturally receives synchronical confirmation from the Eastern as well as the Western Orientalists, whose opinions, I am fully inclined to subscribe to. I must therefore consider the dates of the hymns and prayers as synchronical with the Persian prophet Zoroaster and his Royal follower the Bactrian king Vistaspes or Hystaspes†

I demonstrate this. I beg to lay before our society the following testimonies of the Greek authors, who were near contemporaries and flourished four or five centuries B. C. They attributed several works to Zoroaster.

Sir Henry Rawlinson thus expresses himself.

"The very elaborate vocalic organization of the Zend indicates, I think a comparatively recent era for the formation of its alphabet, while the disfigurement of authentic history affords an argument of equal weight against the possible antiquity of the composition of the Zend-Avesta. At the same time, there is strong evidence of the Magi having possessed from the remotest period, books which they ascribed to some proto-patriarch of the name of Zoroaster. These books are quoted by Plato (Pol, B XXX.) They were in the hands of the disciples of Prodicus, who

\* Resalae-Estush-Haud Appendix of 1828, and A Historical Account of the Ancient Leap-Year of the Parsees. Published at Surat 1826

† See app Note L.

flourished in the fifth century B C (Clem, Alex, Edit, Sylburg 304) They applied Osthanes who accompanied Xerxes in his Grecian expedition, with materials for his work on Magic They were expounded and indexed by Hermippus (Plin, lib LXX Cap I) I do not allude to the later extracts of Pusebius Suidas &c or to the published Zoroastrian oracles for their claims to antiquity are apocryphal but notices of the fourth and fifth century B C are certainly deserving of consideration' \*

The well known Editor of the Zand Avesta the German Orientalist John Frederic Kleuker has extracted in his work several passages from the Greek Authorities who have most ably proved the genuineness of the Zand Avesta. In one of them the learned Mr Troyer expresses his opinion on the subject as follows —

'These works, parts of which only existed in England, were then for the first time translated into an European language and published in French by Anquetil Examined as monuments of an ancient religion and literature of the Persians they have been differently appreciated by learned men, and their authenticity denied by some among whom the most conspicuous are Sir W Jones Richardson, and Meiners and defended by others by none with more zeal than John Frederic Kleuker who not only translated Anquetil's Zand Avesta into German in three volumes but in an appendix of two volumes (all in quarto) commented and discussed with great judgment, sagacity and erudition all that relates to the Zand-books attributed to Zoroaster Here follow as shortly as possible the principal results of his laborious investigations — testimonies of the exis-

tence of works attributed to Zoroaster are found in Greek authors who lived before our era. It was in the sixth century B. C.\* that the Persian religion and philosophy became known in Europe by Hostanes, the Archimagus who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. In the fourth century B. C. Plato, Aristotle, and Theopompus showed a knowledge of Zoroaster's works. In the third century B. C. Hermippus treats expressly of them as containing not less than 120,000 distichs. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, works attributed to Zoroaster are mentioned under different names by Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Pausanius, Pliny, and Dion Chrysostomus. St Clement of Alexandria, in the third century was not unacquainted with them. Later the Gnostics made great use of the Oriental Cosmogony and psychology as derived from Zoroaster. The testimony of Eusebius establishes that, in the fourth century, there existed a collection of sacred works respecting the theology and religion of the Persians. It was mostly the liturgical part of them that was spread about, mixed with notions relative to the magical art. The empress Eudokia of the fifth, and Suidas, of the twelfth century, attribute to Zoroaster several books, four of which treat of nature, one of precious stones, and five of astrology and prognostics. So much and more can be gathered from Greek and Latin works about the writings of the Persian legislator"†

The language of the Cuneiform Inscriptions is the best primal evidence as to its being the sister language to the

\* I must be excused here for contradicting the learned Orientalists, because the universal opinion is that Xerxes the son of Gustasp or Hystasp lived about four centuries B. C.

† Eng Trans Dabistan or School of Manners Vol. I Page 223 Note

Zand and the Bactrian coins may be cited in support of this assertion

The undermentioned authorities are I believe quite sufficient to establish the genuineness of the language

'Between Agra and Etawah Colonel Tod found at the same place a square coin which he ascribes to Menander, the inscription on the reverse is however in the Zand character (See Mr Prinsep and Professor Wilson's Notes on Lieutenant Burnes's coins and transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society")

Further we observe that Buddhist topes bear the Zand character of which Sir Rawlinson and Mr Vaux speak as follows —

'The characters found in the Buddhist topes, the Zend, the Parthian—of which there are three varieties at least, and Pehlvi,—lapidary numismatic and cursive, follow in direct chronological succession"†

With these authorities as to the character and language I leave the question in the hands of the learned Orientalists to decide and to express their impartial opinions upon

On the whole continent of Europe we see at present the knowledge of arts and sciences advanced And at the same time we are surprised to see that Orientalists in general have also prosecuted the study of Oriental languages and the middle of the eighteenth century is worth while being recorded as a new era in historical research on account of the Zand language and Zand Avesta.

\* Penny Cyclopædia Vol. III P 253.

† J. R. A. S. G. R. & L. Vol. X Pt. I P 43. Nineveh and Persepolis by W. Vaux. P 400. and Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities by E. Thomas Esq. of 1858. Vol. I. P 120 130. and Vol. II. P 170. Proceedings of the Bombay Geographical Society August, 1838. P 65

Thanks to the labors of Prof. F. Spiegel, of Erlangen and, Prof. Westergaard of Copenhagen, who are both busily engaged in editing the whole of the Zand Avesta with its translation, the former rendering it into German and English and the latter into the English language. Professor Spiegel, has completed his edition of the Vendidad, text and translation, accompanied by a careful and copious collection of various readings.

Professor Westergaard has duly completed the whole of the Zand text except a small portion, and has commenced to publish his translation with a Grammar and Dictionary of the Zand Avesta.

From their intimate knowledge, of the Zand Avesta both of these learned Orientalists, acknowledge the genuineness and authenticity of the Zand-Avesta in the preface to their respective works, but they only differ on principal points about the authorship of the Yaçnâ, that is the second part of Yaçna, a small portion of the Avesta, and the great portion of the Zand Avesta they attribute to Zoroaster.

Professor Spiegel, expresses his opinion that in the Yaçna we have two distinct dialects regarding which our learned member Reverend Dr. Mitchell speaks as follows after consulting Dr. Spiegel

"We are now prepared to attempt an arrangement of the different portions of the Zendavesta in the order of their antiquity. First we place the second part of the Yaçna, as separated in respect to the language of the Zendavesta, yet not composed by Zoroaster himself, since he is named in the third person, and indeed every thing intimates that neither he nor his disciple Gushtasp was alive"

In consideration of the above question suppose I admit that the first and second parts of Yacna differ in their language it does not prove that the second part is not composed by Zoroaster I know that Zoroaster's name is used in the sense of the third person but it is no wonder We see that European writers in the preface of their works name themselves in the sense of a third person yet we cannot doubt the authorship of the work so in the second part of Yacna and in some of the places of the Zend Avesta Zoroaster's name appears in the third person the reason is that the benediction is offered by his followers in the sense of a Mediator between Hormuzd and the Zoroastrians so he is addressed in the sense of a third person by himself, as a prophet

I hope from the above explanation that my learned friends Dr Spelgel and Dr Mitchell will entirely agree with me on this point

The learned Professor Westergaard's opinion is supported by my friend the Reverend Dr Wilson. The learned Professor says —

In the same manner as the hymns of the Vedas and the songs of the Eddas, the several portions of the Zend-avesta must have sprung from different hands and teachers who represented their particular subject each according to his own view \*

As to the above assertion I beg to say that both of my learned friends are mistaken in this supposition In my foregoing remarks I have already pointed out that Professor Spelgel, and the Revd Dr Mitchell took the second part of Yacna and said that Zoroaster appears as a third

\* Westergaard's Zendavesta. Vol. I Preface P 10.

person, for which, I have already given the reason which I think is quite sufficient, but I cannot agree with the learned Orientalists "that several portions of the Zendavesta must have sprung from different bards and teachers."

"The idea about the Zand Avesta, I do not see any valid reason to believe. We see several portions of the Avesta in the forms of hymns, in which the language slightly differs from the largest parts of the Avesta; but their grammatical analysis shows at once that the 'Zand Avesta' is the production of Zoroaster alone, except the general tenor of the language. However, I admit there is a slight difference between the first and second part of the Yaçna, about which the learned Orientalist says.

"The language of Zendavesta belongs, as do the writings, to Northern Iran, and between its two dialects there is a difference not so much of time as of place, and I should believe we may refer the harsher dialect of the Yaçna to a rough mountainous country, and the other and softer to the milder clime of the plains. As this language in its two dialects gives us the earliest representatives of the northern branch, so does the language of Darius as to the western branch of the Iranian class. Their relationship must, therefore, be compared to that for instance between Icelandic and Gothic, Polish and Russian, which in the same manner belong to distinct branches of the same classes, but as the Iranian tongues are of an age many centuries earlier, the chasm between them has not yet widened so far as is the case with the others."\*

From this we have no reason to say that Zoroaster is

not the author of the Zand Avesta? It is indeed a direct evidence that the whole of Zand Avesta was written by Zoroaster himself about four centuries B C. This opinion is not simply mentioned by Oriental writers but it is repeatedly alluded to by Grecian writers. From these facts I confidently believe that Zoroaster composed the Zand Avesta.

‘It is the almost universal opinion promulgated by Hyde,<sup>8</sup> and defended by the editor of the Zendavesta<sup>9</sup> that the prophet was contemporary with Darius Hystaspis and that consequently his laws were promulgated under the empire of the Persians.”<sup>10</sup>

This opinion is adopted on the continent of Europe by many learned men. They are unanimous that the capital of Bactria is the primitive seat of Zoroaster and the Zand Avesta regarding which the learned Orientalist acknowledges himself as follows —

Tradition from the earliest times attaches Zoroaster to Bactria, and I believe all now agree in considering that country the native home of the Zendavesta.†

It is the almost universal opinion of the Orientalists and Occidentalists that the prophetic doctrine of Zoroaster was first promulgated in Bactria and was enthusiastically adopted by the ancient Persians Medians Soghdians and Bactrians under the reign of king Vistasp or Hystasp that the Hagiographic books of the Zand Avesta were composed by the Persian Prophet Zoroaster in Bactria and that the

<sup>8</sup> “Hyde, De Relig. Veter. Persar. P. 303. 312-335.

<sup>9</sup> “Zendavesta of Kleuker Appendix I. L. etc; c f p. 327 etc.

<sup>10</sup> Heeren's Historical Researches Vol. I P. 237

† Westergaard's Zand Avesta Vol. I Preface P. 10.



Zand stands as a primitive Hagiographical language of the Anti-Bakhti or Balkh

These views the most learned Orientalists and Classical writers of modern times unanimously subscribe to. I beg to quote the following authorities in support of my assertion,

Heeren observes,

“From Zoroaster himself we can only learn that it took place during the Bactro-Median empire, under a king named Gustasp, of the dynasty of Keanides”<sup>\*</sup>

Muhleisen says,

“According to the Zendavesta, Zoroaster, or Zardhust, appeared during the reign of the Bactrian king Vistaspa, which was changed at a later period into Khistasp or Gustasp. It has been made plain from Grecian authors, as well as from inscriptions which have lately been discovered in Persia itself, that Gustasp is no other than Hystaspes, the father of the Persian king Darius”<sup>†</sup>

Professor Wilson has the following to offer on the subject,

“Lohrasp was entitled Balkhi, because the greatest part of his reign was passed in that region”<sup>2</sup> The reign of his son and successor Gushtasp was signalized by the reformation, or possibly the institution, of the Magian religion, by Zeidhust or Zoroaster, whom classical and oriental writers concur in designating as a native of Bactria or Balkh”<sup>3</sup>†

\* Heeren's *His Res* Vol I P 240

† Genuine & Spurious Religion Vol I P 311

<sup>2</sup> “Mirkhond, p 272”

‡ *Asiana Antiqua* P 124 “3 Zeidusti seu Zoroastris vita Hyde *Relig. veterum Persarum*, P 312 Zeidusht Nama, cited by Du Peron Vide *Zoroastre Zendavesta*, vol 1 part 2 Also a memoir by the same in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. xxxvii The latter is translated and inserted by Mr Shea in his translation of Mirkhond, P 274”

Mr O Ravenshaw says —

‘Indeed it was at Balkh the capital of King Gushtasp that Zoroaster is said to have promulgated his doctrine about 500 B C’\*.

A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* delivers himself as follows on the subject —

With regard to the place where the Zend Avesta was composed Burnouf contended that it was Bactria, not Persia. The opinion of so learned a man generally adopted as it has been by other scholars deserves the deepest respect. Tradition too has connected Zoroaster with that country—tradition both classical and oriental generally speaks of him as the “Bactrian sage”†.

I have already discussed the question regarding the native land of the Zend Avesta and proved that there is no doubt Zoroaster is the only Hagiographer of the Zend-Avesta with the concurrent testimonies of the different authors.

Taking into consideration the above authorities I must infer that it is emphatically proved that the first rites of Zoroaster’s Zend Avesta took place in Bactria and that the Zend was used as the Hieratic language in the vast Empire of Iran.

I beg to submit the following observations regarding the Pehlvi language.

Some of the Continental Orientalists of the present day are of opinion that the Pehlvi language has been forged.

\* J. R. A. S. G. & L. Vol. XVI Pt. I P 112. “L. Niebuhr in his Lectures, says that Gushtasp cannot be identified with Darius Hystaspes, so this date is very uncertain. Heeren thinks the date should be 800 B. C. if not earlier—Vol. I, P 241. See above P 59–60.

† *Bombay Quarterly Review* Vol. IV Page 59.

by the Parsis of India. If I grant this for the sake of argument a question naturally arises, it is but about twelve hundred years since the Parsis left their fatherland for India, how are we to account then for the Pehlvi inscriptions, that are to be met with on blocks of stones and coins in Persia? It is widely known that these blocks of Hâjî-âbâd, Naksh-e-Rustam, Naksh-e-Rajab and Kirmanshah, as well as Pehlvi coins existed in Persia in the time of Sassanian Dynasty and prior to the existence of all the Parsis of India. This fact at once leads us to the conclusion that the Pehlvi language existed in Persia as a popular language long before the emigration of the Parsis from that place and even prior to the time when the kings of the Sassanian Dynasty reigned in Persia. That the bilingual Pehlvi inscriptions of Hâjî-âbâd with translations in anti-pehlvi can be found on the blocks of stone is another strong proof of the genuineness of the Pehlvi language. The European writers consider this anti-pehlvi to be the Parthian or Chaldian language, but I beg to differ from them. My humble conviction is that it is no other than the Pehlvi language used by the Persians in very remote times. The Parthians or Chaldians are descendants of the ancient Persians, and it is no wonder that the former spoke the language of the latter.

Learned Orientalists after perusing some imperfect Pehlvi works, come at once, without any consideration, to the conclusion, that the language is a forged one, but before they express this opinion, I would advise them to compare the language by the law of Grammar with some other Arian family of languages, as this is the only mode of testing the genuineness of a language \*

\* Dhunjibhâi's Huzvarash Grammar P 8-17

Every one will admit that the continental orientalists are the best grammarians. It is a fact nevertheless that some of them have pronounced their unreserved opinions against the authenticity of the Pehlvi language without waiting to see if this opinion will stand an examination by the light of comparative philology.

Pehlvi\* is a name given to a spoken language of Pehlū, a city situated in Persia. The people residing in this city were called Pehlraws or warriors. In former times the Pehlvi language was used in departments connected with the state and by warriors, kings and emperors. Many instances can be cited in support of this assertion. The hills of Hājt-Ābād Nakah i Rūstam and Kirmanshah, situated near Tākhṭe-Jamshēd or Persopolis contain many blocks of stones, bearing Pehlvi inscriptions. These inscriptions can also be seen on coins which derived their existence in the reign of Ardēshīr Bābēgān.

Hence it cannot be questioned that the Pehlvi language was in use in ancient times. Some of the Orientalists by comparing the Pehlvi on blocks of stones and coins with the Pehlvi written in books perceived that they widely differ from each other and consequently come to the conclusion that the Pehlvi language of the books has derived its source from the Persian. My researches however bring me to quite a different conclusion. I admit that the two languages differ slightly from each other but that it does not follow that the Pehlvi language as written in books owes its existence to the Persian. The Pehlvi on blocks of

\* *Vānu Purāna* Eng. Trans. by H. H. Wilson, of 1840, Page 189  
Note No. 61 & 125. Note No. 152.

J. B. B. R. A. S. of 1863 Vol. V No. 18 P. 42.

stones is known by the name of common Pehlvi, while that of the book is styled Huzvarash, or proper Pehlvi. One was used as the medium of explaining the religious books, while the other as a spoken language, just as the Sanskrit language of the Vade Shâsters, and the common Sanskrit for general use among the Hindus. In former times every language of the Persians was divided into two parts, one for general use, while the other for religious books. Such was the case with the Persian, the Zand, the Pehlvi, and every other language which belonged to the Arians.

Some of the learned men entertain a doubt regarding the genuineness of the Pehlvi language. Their reason is simply this, that Pehlvi inscriptions and the Pehlvi version of the Zand Avesta differ from each other.

I admit that it differs in some instances in its grammatical forms, but I have compared several words of both the languages and found Huzvarash roots in the Pehlvi inscriptions\*. This shows at once the genuineness of the language, and I must therefore conclude that the one is the Hieratic and the other the official language of the country, the latter I may safely say was also the spoken language in many parts of Persia.

According to the general belief of the modern Persians, the Pehlvi language is still used as a spoken language in Saristan and in Khurdistan. This seems to be very probable because Sir C. H. Rawlinson acknowledges in his travels that in the village of Dizmar people speak the Pehlvi language†. And also in the province of Gustasfi‡.

\* Refer to the preceding pages for the English transcript and verbal translation of the bilingual Pehlvi inscriptions of Hajî-âbâd.

† J. R. G. S. of London 1839 Vol. IX Pt. 1 P. 109 Note.

‡ Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol. III P. 426 Note (7).

From the above opinion we may admit Pehlvi as a vernacular dialect of the past age of the Sassanian.

The Numismatic Pehlvi of the coins, gems etc., of the Sassanian times shows the popularity of the language.

Further I see that my learned friend Sir Rawlinson says that before the first emigrants of the Zoroastrian faith went to India, we see the specimen of the Pehlvi characters upon the copper Sasanam which they carried with them.

The following is the passage in which the learned Orientalist expresses his firm belief to that effect.

"The short legend again written on the breast of the king's horse on the great tablet at Shāpur, appears to have been engraved while the Pehlvi was then in a state of transition and I have impressions of several gems which still further facilitate a connexion between the modern and ancient characters. In the names of the Parsi witnesses attached to the copper Sasanam which is at present in possession of the Syrian Christians of Malabar we have probably an interesting specimen of the Pehlvi character as it was carried to India, by the first emigrants of the Zoroastrian faith when they fled from the Arab army on its approach to Adulab, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and sought refuge at *Sinddn*, a town on the coast of Guzerat, well known in Arab geography but which without this direct testimony of Hamzeh Isfahāni we should have some difficulty in recognizing in the St. John of the modern maps."

From the above and several other authorities there is a strong evidence for the existence of the Pehlvi in

\* J. R. A. S. G. B. & L. of 1846, Vol. X. Pt. I. P. 44. Note 2.

Persia, and before the Zoroastrian first came to India

It is well known to our society that two years ago, I published in the Guzrâtî language the Elements of Pehlvi grammar. In its preface I have already discussed the authenticity of the Huzvarash or proper Pehlvi language at some length and proved the existence and authenticity of the language and divided it into three principal classes, viz Cursive, Lapidary, and Numismatic, and after a careful comparison I perceived that the Huzvarash roots are to be met with in all of them

I am therefore strongly of opinion that the form of the language has no doubt derived its origin from the Anti-Arian language

Besides this I have compared the Huzvarash language with the Semitic family of languages and can say that the Huzvarash language is not only an independent language, but in its Philological construction, it bears a superiority over the Semitic language. I will enter upon this subject if time permits me to satisfy at some length the literary world, as to the true primitive claim of an Arian nations over the Semitic

My venerable friend Mr. Romei, after perusing the preface of my Pehlvi grammar says,

"I have examined it attentively, I do not find that it contains anything to induce me to alter my opinion I formed on full reflection long ago on the Pehlavi of the Parsi Books"

I beg leave to ask each learned Orientalist to bring forward the ground on which he rests his opinion that I

\* The Bombay Quarterly Review Vol IV. P 55 and Dhunjibhâi's Huzvarash Grammar preface P 5 8

may be able to discuss the very point on which he differs from me the learned gentleman would do well to advance reasons for disbelieving the authorities I have above cited.

The learned Orientalist Dr Spiegel in his elaborate discussion in the introduction to his *Huzvarash Grammar* Says.\*

"Accordingly I distinguish two meanings in the word Pehlvi, namely a) in a stricter sense the dialect of the country called Fehleh b) the dialect etc. of the Pehlvars and in a wider sense the language of the entire pre-islamic time."†

A Chodzko Esqr after a most laborious investigation mentions as follows.‡

"Be that as it may it is certain that the Ghilanis give to their own songs the name of Pálovis and that the two princes of the Persian Parnassus apply the same denomination to their Compositions.

E. Thomas Esq., in his valuable dissertation on the Numismatic Pehlvi Coins expresses his opinion in the following words§

"And especially with reference to the doubts which are being raised as to the authenticity of the Zoroastrian languages, I would point to the significant fact implied in the extensively prevailing use of the Pehlvi character as *prima facie* evidence of the existence and currency of the language itself, or of its more dialectic modifications.

In conclusion I must confess that in treating this interesting subject, I cannot stand on vantage ground but on

\* *Grammatik der Huzváreshsprache* von Dr Spiegel. Wien. 1860. Einleitung. P 20.

† See app. Note N

‡ *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, London. 1841. P 454

§ J. R. A. S. O. R. & L. Vol. XIII. Pt. 2. P 34 and Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities* of 1838 Vol. II. P 163. Note L.



the contrary my position in handling this important question must be rather precarious and liable to unreasonable attacks from prejudiced partizans, who entertain notions, contrary to those I have according to my humble abilities, endeavoured to disseminate. The foreign testimonies I have used in support of my arguments might allure any of my opponents to use the other subjects in the works of those learned authors against me, but the fair and disinterested critic will at once see and feel satisfied that I am perfectly justified in adducing proofs from the undeniable authorities of those learned Orientalists wherever their views and sentiments tended to support and prove my arguments before the literary fraternity.

We see the writer of the "Calcutta Review," has through ignorance made a very bold attack upon the Zoroastrians as follows, †

"It is to be regretted that none of the Parsis in India are so learned in their own language and literature as to defend them against the attacks that have been made upon them, involving as they do in their truth the baselessness of their whole religious system and beliefs"

Without attempting any refutation of the above remarks, I would simply refer the writer to the following works

Introduction to the Grammar of the Pooshtoo Language by Capt Raverly P 3 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. V Pages 507 & 695 and Vol. IV P 235 469, 470 The Bombay Quarterly Review Vol IV Page 55 The Parsees, Their History, Manners, Customs by Mr Dosabhoj Framji P 219 The Parsi Friend, September, 1855 Vol I No 24, Pages 369 to 371

† Calcutta Review for 1857—July to December, Vol XXX No LVIII Page 248

•OBSERVATIONS ON THE BILINGUAL PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS  
OF HAJI ABAD NEAR NAKH I RUSTAM.

I first deciphered this inscription from Sir Ker Porter's and Lieut. Col. Vans Kennedy's Copy,\* not with the object of satisfying my own curiosity, but simply with a view to collect sufficient materials to support my observations on the Pehlvi alphabets so as to enable me to point out the true value of the characters and to identify the original names, titles and other words.

My further object in deciphering this inscription was to give it a place in the preface of my Zand Dictionary, with other Pehlvi inscriptions already deciphered by continental Orientalists with a view to publish the Pehlvi alphabets with observations on the Lapidary, Cursive, and Numismatic characters according to the different forms of their alphabets to assist Pehlvi Scholars to decipher any of the Pehlvi writings on Tablets Manuscripts or coins.\*

Further I beg to mention that the Bilingual Pehlvi inscriptions of Haji-Abad, as copied by Sir Ker Porter, from the original tablet are in my opinion in some respects very incorrect. I think I shall be able to establish the following facts when I shall have made a comparison of Professor Westergaard's fac-similes with those of Sir Ker Porter's inscriptions† At the same time it appears to me that the latter copy is a very imperfect one, in this case I have already expressed my opinion before the Society and I now beg to refer the intelligent reader to the following remarks —‡

\* See Inscription, Plate I.

† See Inscription, Plate II.

‡ J. R. R. A. S. Vol. V. P. 393. 394.

“With reference to the copies of the Haj-i-Ábad inscription mentioned, (P 374) the author, Dhunjibhoy Framji, Esq, states that after having carefully re-examined them, he thinks that the copy which appears in Professor Westergaard’s edition of the Bundhesh has been most carefully taken from the original, and that it is only inaccurate in a few characters, that the Sassanian lapidary Pehlvi inscription in Sir Ker Porter’s Travels is also in some respects incorrect, and the Parthian or most ancient Phlvi inscription appears to be still more so, which may have arisen from the difficulty with which it was obtained, for Sir Ker Porter states ‘I copied them with all the accuracy in my power, being much impeded by the height and darkness of their position. One portion of the three upper lines I could not make out in the least’ Between Sir Ker Porter’s and Professor Westergaard’s Pehlvi inscription, the author had discovered about thirty characters which differed from each other in their respective words, but as amongst these there were a few homogeneous ones, the difference in the decipherings was of no great consequence

“When Mr Dhunjibhoy Framji first deciphered and translated this inscription from Sir Ker Porter’s copy, he entertained doubts respecting the accuracy of the translation, and therefore, as far as lay in his power, supplied a list of *errata* deduced from the analogy, etymology, and comparative philology of the words contained in them; he now begged leave to lay before the Society a translation of the inscription from Professor Westergaard’s copy, which, when compared with his first deciphering, would be found to differ only in a few words, the explanations of which differences were in the notes appended to his translation”

In conclusion the author states, that as yet he does not feel quite competent to place before orientalists a satisfactory translation of this inscription because he is still doubtful of the orthographical and interchangeable value of some of the characters which he will be better able to explain in the preface to his Zand Dictionary where he hopes to publish the Pehlivi alphabets with observations on their lapidary, cursive, and monumental forms to facilitate future investigations in the deciphering of this character "

From the above explanation the reader will observe that the basis of my translation solely depends on the authorities of the Arian family of languages and in some respects of the Semitic languages



THE  
PEHLVI INSCRIPTION

OF

HAJIABAD NEAR NAKSHIRUSTAM

FROM

Major GENERAL VANS KENNEDY'S  
WORK ON THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGES

AND

Sir Ker PORTER'S TRAVELS

Vol. I P 513 P XV







celestially descended from Yazdan (God), the son\* of the worshipper of Ormazd the excellent Artahshatar† (Artaxerxes),

in the Zand Avesta the “*An*” is prefixed before a vowel as a negative particle, and before a consonant simply the vowel “*a*” as in the Greek and Sanscrit

From this etymological construction the word *An-Iran* simply signifies “Unbelievers” or “Non-Arian-provinces” and consequently I adopt the opinion of the learned Mullâ Fnoze, from this analogical construction of the word, and further we have a good authority to rely upon—the Original Pehlvi version of the Zand Avesta.

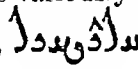
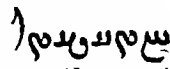
The opinions in regard to this word of the Continental Orientalists are numerous, of which I shall be able to give a full explanation in a note in my Zand Dictionary, and in the meantime I beg to refer my readers to the following works on the subject

Vide Burnouf Com Sur le Yaçna, Note p 61-62 Memoires Sur Diverses Antiquites De la Perse By De Sacy P 58-60 and p 59 Note (103) Vendidad Sade by Dr H. Brockhaus p 337 Journal Asiatique Quatrième Série Tome I p 40 Note Penny Cyclopaedia Vol II p 316 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol XI Part I Ps 41 45 and see Ps 38. 48 of the above

\* The word *Buî* “Son” appears to me to be an incorrect one and this mistake I believe has crept into the original tablet According to the etymological System, I am of opinion that it ought to be read *Buîmân* “Son” instead of *Buî* as used in modern Pehlvi *Buîmân* for “Son” or Brî.

† From the monumental relics of the celebrated Persian king Artaxerxes and from the Oriental and Occidental historical accounts handed down to us, we believe that Artaxerxes was the great reformer and restorer of the Zoroastrian religion

It is now quite evident that we are forced to affirm, on most sufficient grounds that the primitive Doctrine of Zoroaster existed formerly in Persia even before this celebrated king The true denominative of this king is variously written by various authors

as in the Modern Pehlvi,  *Ardashir*, or  *Hvastār*, the Sassanian, *Artāhshtār*, in the most Ancient Pehlvi, *Artāhshtān*, in Cuneiform,

*Artahshtān*, it is rendered in Greek *Artaxerxes*, in Hebrew and Chaldee, *Artachshasta*, and in modern Persian, *Artashū* Besides, we see the names of this king on the several Coins of the Sassanian dynasty

king of king<sup>1</sup> of Alra the celestially descended from Ya-  
 dan (God) (and) granter of the excellent (Alphab) (Al-  
 gan) king I am the witness of the good time. Because  
 the Officers, Ministers and Commanders say in it many  
 years past ruling (according to) the justice and the equity  
 will witness who can say. I prospered in all well doing  
 virtuous person. I have bestowed upon them the  
 grace of royal favour. O Ormazd thou hast bestowed  
 most praise upon me graciously in this manner. O that I  
 may give (what I) into excellent (to) them.

On this account the wicked Iathak was grieved (by the  
 grace) of the excellent Divine Ormazd. He took up all the  
 virtuous creatures and pious men of pure in the path  
 of the happiness of heaven. Also in like manner thou hast  
 bestowed virtue on us from the good path therefore the  
 obtaining of all knowledge. I bestow it (on those) who desire  
 it and also the excellent gift in that manner bestowed is  
 given to me by that Divine Ormazd.

The word *Bt* I think, required a few more letters to be added  
 to the primitive root *\*Fol*, as it appears that these letters have  
 probably been lost from the tablet by wear. In the meantime  
 therefore I have used the word *Eat* implying

THE  
PEHLVI INSCRIPTION  
OF  
HAJIABAD NEAR NAKSH-I-RUSTAM.  
FROM  
Prof. WESTERGAARD'S  
BUNDEHESH,  
MARK A.





FGNIŠH TRANSLATION OF THE PEHLVĪ  
INSCRIPTION OF HAJI ABAD NEAR  
NAKSH I RŪSTAM

I am the just and zealous worshipper of Ormazd, the divine Shāpur king of kings, of Airan and Aniran, celestially descended from God, the son of the worshipper of Ormazd the divine Artaxerxes king of kings of Airan the celestially descended from God, and grandson of the divine Bābōgān king who is the well wisher of the good time. Because the Officers Ministers and Commanders saw me ruling (according to) the just and pure law and the great well wisher who confers good prosperity upon all well thriving virtuous-persons.

I have bestowed upon (them) the praises of royal-favour. O Ormazd thou hast bestowed the most praise upon me graciously in this manner. O that I may give what is most excellent (to them). (On this account) the wicked Pattiāki was grieved (by the grace) of the excellent Divine Ormazd, I bestow upon the virtuous and pious-men of pure desire the path of the happiness of heaven. Also in like manner thou hast bestowed all virtue and law from the good path therefore the obtaining of all knowledge I bestow on (those) who desire it also the excellent gift in that manner bestowed (is given) on him by that Divine Ormazd.

## NOTES ON THE PEHLVI INSCRIPTION OF HAJI- ABAD NEAR NAKSIL-I-RUSTAM

Number 1st In the first line, I have deciphered the first word *Tahrâhî*, according to the system of M. De Sacy and Sir W. Ouseley. The second character of the word above alluded to is identified with > *h*, in the word *bahî*, by these two learned Orientalists. I have therefore used the orthographical value in my decipherment as *h*. I have moreover sufficient proofs as to its etymological construction and signification.

The monosyllabic word *Tahr* agrees, in the kindred languages, with the Hebrew טָהַר, or קָהַר, and in Arabic طَهَّرَ, which signifies pure or clean, and the second etymon is merely prolonged into *â* for the suffix *hî* of the nominative case, and therefore I have considered the word *Tahrâhî* as the nominative singular of an adjective of the masculine gender, qualifying the proper noun *Mazdisan*.

According to recent investigations, it appears to me that the second character > *h* is identified with > *g* in its orthographical value by a few of the Continental Orientalists, and they are inclined to use the same character in the word *bagr* or *baga*. Therefore we may have a reason at present for reading the original word *Tagrâhî* instead of *Tahrâhî*.

The word *Tagrâhî* is composed of *Tag* which in modern Pehlvi signifies "stronger" or "hero" and the word *râhî* signifies "way" or "path". Therefore, the verbal translation will be "heroic-path" that is "zealous" in an adjective form masc, nom, sing, used as an epithet before the noun

*Ma dāzan* "These compounded word signify 'The Zādon worshipper of Ormazd'"

Suppose we admit that the character *g* in *z* of *Z* suits its phonetic value then on the other hand we see it does not suit the purport of several other words because this character is used in the Inscription of Hujt Abad oftener than six or seven times. I shall endeavour to show my principal reasons hereafter for rejecting this value etc.

Further if we compare the word *Tajrid* with the modern Persian *تاجری* *tajrī* we see that it signifies 'The Imperial signature an order &c (see Richard's Persian Arabic and English Dictionary)' 816 and also the *Burhān al-kāf* ) but this signification does not answer the purport of the Inscription and if we read this word again according to the modern Pehlvi it will be *tugri* which signifies *seal* and the *z* of the original word must be considered as merely a suffix.

The signification of the above word has no connection whatever with the passage of the Inscription therefore I have sufficient ground for an optional employment of it because we always use in modern Pehlvi some of the characters as homogenous letters thus *e* *g* *h* has always three different orthographical values as *h* *G* and *H* viz—  
 گ *hamah* desire      Toga powerful      *Atwaka*  
 purity" etc, and is freely allowed to be employed optionally by the readers to enable them properly to understand the original passages.

From the above examples it is quite evident that the character *z* is substituted for three different orthographical values therefore if we adopt the same system in Sassanian lapidary Pehlvi it will be of no great consequence. Besides



thus, I beg to refer the readers, for more and fuller information, to the note on the word *bahr* or *bagi* in succeeding pages

No. 2nd In line first, the second word, *zakî*, signifying "just" I first deciphered from Sir Ker Porter's copy, but after a minute comparison of the same with Professor Westergaard's copy, I am of opinion that the letters bear three different ways of decipherment as *zakî*, *vanî*, and *zanî*. These words occur four times in the inscription, but the orthography is a subject of doubt, and we must therefore adopt an arbitrary mode of decipherment from the respective significations of the three words just mentioned which alone will lead to the proper understanding of the original passage

Regarding the orthographical value of the character l in the whole inscription, strong evidence exists of its interchangeable orthography. This simple character l always confuses the readers of the modern Pehlvi language, as well as in Sassanian Bilingual Pehlvi Inscriptions of Hâjî-Abâd and others At present the character serves the orthographical value of three letters *z*, *n*, and *v*, I have used it absolutely as *v*, as in the word *vanî*, signifying "just" (see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland for 1852 Vol. xiii Pt. 2. P. 402 Note 3, and also Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mongenlandischen Gesellschaft Leipzig 1850, Vol IV. P 96)

No 3rd The word *bahr* signifying "excellent" we see used already three times in the inscription as an epithet before proper nouns

In the first line, I first deciphered the fifth word *bahr* on the authority of M de Sacy and Sir W Ouseley, but at present the continental orientahsts are of opinion that the word may be read as an epithet *baga* or *bagi* instead of *bahr*.

which signifies 'God' or 'Divine'. If we propose to read it *baga* or *bagi* signifying 'Divine' then it is impossible according to the doctrine of the Zand Avesta to apply this epithet to any human being in communion with Omnipotence and Prophet. The word *bahi* is popular as an epithet applied to the followers of Zoroaster as *bahu-dan* signifying 'of the excellent religion' therefore it appears to me that if we read it *bahi* instead of *bagi* it will be much better.

I am however not obstinate. If I meet with any sufficient reason for reading the word *bagi* I shall do so without any hesitation.


Let us now review some examples in order to give the true reading of the word *𐬀𐬀𐬌* <sup>2</sup> my opinion is strongly and unanimously expressed by continental Orientalists is to read it *bagi* 'Divine'.


From M. de Longperrier's *Et de sur les Médailles des rois Perses* (of 1840), it appears to me the learned Orientalist prefers to read it as *bagi* 'Divine' instead of *bahi* but I cannot exactly tell on what principle his opinion is founded when writing this note. I am really sorry for not having the work in my hands. I am unable to say any thing more on the subject.\*

As far as the identification of this word *𐬀𐬀𐬌* *bagi* is concerned the learned Sir G. Rawlinson is of the following opinion —


2 This identification is of much importance for it enables us to read the epithet *𐬀𐬀𐬌* which answers to the *𐬀𐬀𐬌* *Baga* instead of *Beh* and it is singular that Do


\* Vile P. 5. Notice on certain unpublished coins of the Sassanids by E. Thomas, Esq.

Sacy, with his admirable critique and extensive learning should have overlooked it. Very possibly the Zend  may be a mere modification of the Sassanian character.”

With the exception of the Zand  I am quite prepared to concur in the opinion of the learned Orientalist, with a few additional proofs for the purpose of affording some elucidation of this very *important* identification.

We see already that the word *bagi* is often used with its interpretation to convey the sense of “divine,” in the Bilingual Hâji-Abâd Inscriptions and in the Trilingual Inscriptions at Naksh-i-Rustam.

In the second Inscription of Hâji-Abâd which is written in the most ancient Pehlvi, this epithet , is interpreted . . . *Alhâ*, and in the Trilingual Inscription at Naksh-i-Rustam, in Greek the same epithet is interpreted *θεος*, which signifies “God” or “Divine,” therefore we have sufficient reason to read the epithet “*bagi*” which signifies “Divine,” because it is the same as in the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of Hâji-Abâd and of the Naksh-i-Rustam.

As regards the signification of the word *Alhâ*, in the second inscription of Hâji-Abâd I do not see any need of making remarks on it, it is so popular in Hebrew, Arabic, and also in modern Pehlvi, that it answers to the word  *Anhumâ*. Observe the semi-vowels *l* and *n* are interchangeable, and the *mâ* is used as a suffix.

Sir C. Rawlinson has chosen to denominate the second inscription of Hâji-Abâd the Parthian Pehlvi, while Mr E. Thomas on the contrary considers it as being entitled to the name of Chaldaeo-Pehlvi, but my humble opinion

differs from both and I have reason to consider this inscription to be in the most ancient Pehlvi language \*

Before entering upon an explanation regarding my reasons I must confess that I am not quite unprepared at present to enter into any more remarks on the subject but at the same time I beg leave to request the learned Philologists just to take a review of the Grammatical and Etymological illustrations of the language and see how far my humble opinion will be supported by subsequent Philologists of course the significations of a few words are ambiguous I cannot enter any farther into the subject at present whilst laying my labour before the public but I hope to publish every thing regarding this interesting subject in my Zand Dictionary if time and leisure permit me

As to the word *bagi* the German Orientalists, Dr Mordtmann and Dr Olshausen quite agree in the opinion of the learned Sir C Rawlinson †

From the above-mentioned remarks and from the unanimous opinions of the Continental Orientalists it is evidently manifest to the readers that the word *بگ* enables us to read the epithet *bagi*

The second character *g* of this word in its orthographical value requires however further consideration The character *g* we see several times used in the in

\* The Fac-simile Pehlvi inscription marked B. in Professor Westergaard's *Bundehesh*. I have already deciphered its meanings are the same as that marked A but a few words are so ambiguous in the latter part of that inscription on which I cannot rely for its correctness and I have not even the auxiliary means at my command of the Semitic and Turanian families of languages. In order to enable me to make out the sense of the original words by the help of comparative Philology I must leave this matter for some future opportunity

† *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen* 1850 Vol. IV P. 85

scription of Hâjî-Abâd, in a few words, but when we use it as "g" as well as in the word *Tagiâhi* and *Bagi*, then it does not answer the signification of those words, therefore it compels me also to read it *h*, according to the modern Pehlvi system the homogeneous character > having three orthographical values of *h*, *g*, and *h*, see the previous note number first, where I have already discussed the same subject

After the above remarks we do not see any objection to use the character *h*, instead of *g*

No 4th In the third line the first word . *bui* or *bi* occurs about the etymological construction of which it is needful to give some more explanation, because M De Sacy has much discussed it and has interpreted the same with Boman According to the analogical construction of the word in modern Pehlvi, De Sacy is perfectly correct in his interpretation, but this learned Orientalist deciphered in his valuable work the word . , in Hebrew character ; *בוי*, the first two letters *b* and *v* are admissible in their orthographical value, and for the third letter we have sufficient reason to believe to be *i*, long instead of "män", therefore let us give the true reading which will be *bui* or *bi* "son"

In modern Pehlvi the construction of the word *Boman* is quite evident, the root *Bo* or *Bu* signifies "son" and "man" and is used merely as a suffix, therefore if we read the word *bui* we must consider the long *i*, as a suffix, because the root *Bo* is sufficient to answer the origin of the word *Boman* in modern Pehlvi, and it will be also quite allowable to read the same word as *bi* In modern Pehlvi and Persian the root *ba* answers to "son", again the long *i* is used merely as a

" suffix to the root *bat*. Further we see the long *i* is mostly used as a suffix in the Sasanian Pehlvi Inscription of Hujab viz. but excellent. If *u* (od

From the above example it enables us to decipher the original word *but* or *br* independently because the semi vowels *r* and *u* are no doubt naturally interchangeable in the language of the Sasanian Pehlvi. I can shew from the following examples such as

<i>amran</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>chatri</i>	<i>paru</i>
<i>but</i>			

No 5th In line fifth I first deciphered the third word *hama* from the copy of Sir Ker Porter's work but after a minute comparison of the same with Prof Westergaard's copy I am compelled to read it *hatia* signifying "he-is" or "who-is"

No 6th In line sixth I first deciphered the third word "*Shatarclaran*" from the imperfect letters of Sir Ker Porter's copy on mere supposition but afterwards I have deciphered it from Prof Westergaard's copy *Shirkun* or *Shiryan* signifying commanders

No 7th In line seventh the second word *darki* from Sir K P's copy I first deciphered *deiki* but I see the same word is used in Prof W's copy which enables me to read it as *diki* instead of *darki* which signifies pure and also the word *diki* is well known in the Modern Pehlvi language

No 8th In line seventh the seventh word *radidu* I deciphered from Sir K P's copy but I see the second letter of the same word is slightly different in its form from Prof W's copy therefore we may also read it *aydu* signifying just confers as to the interchangeable value of the second

letter .• in this word I shall explain my object hereafter, and prefer to read it *rahdu* or *rajdu* see the following note

No 9th In line seventh we may also read as *judan*, the ninth word *hudân*, because their significations do not at all differ from each other On comparison of this word with the Zand *hudâē* it signifies "virtuous-person," therefore I considered *hudan* should be in the plural-number "virtuous-persons", and suppose we are allowed to read the same word as *judân* according to the Persian language the first word ید jid would signify "excellent" and ان *ân* is the termination of all substantives and adjectives that are in the plural number, but in the English language the adjective has no plural number, therefore, I think the signification "virtuous-persons" will serve the same purpose.

The orthographical value of the first letter in this word deserves our consideration In the first place this character .• in the Sassanian Lapidary Pehlvi very slightly differs in its form from the character *h*, but besides this we have a strong reason for its interchangeable value, Mr E Thomas considers this character to have three different values as ھ ح ځ\* but according to my humble opinion it serves also for the character *h*, as above mentioned in the words *hudân* or *judân* Observe at the same time the second letter *u*, changed into *v*, as well as the *و* *v*, for ى *y* These are often interchangeable in the Persian, Arabic and other languages

No 10th In line eighth, I have deciphered the sixth word *vik* with the signification O, from the imperfect letters of Sir Ker P's copy and from its comparison with the Persian ویک *vêk*, I preferred at the time to read it *vik*, but after-

\* J R A S G B & I of 1850, Vol XII Pt 2 P 262 Pl I

wards I have seen the same word used in Prof W.'s copy when I was inclined to read it *Atk* the same word is repeated in line ninth

No 11th In line ninth the ninth word *hitân* I first deciphered according to its analogical construction with the modern Pehlvi *hatân* and in Hebrew *הָתַן*, signifying "shall I give"? "or to give" I am still of opinion that the first character of the above word *hatân* should be read as *h* because it has four different orthographical values for which I beg to refer the readers to the note number ninth on the word *hudân* or *gidân* wherein I have already discussed the subject

According to the forms of the last character of the above word we can read it with *k* as *hitâk* but I do not see any great difference in the forms of these two characters *k* and *n*

They are used in the inscription and besides this I have strong reason to believe that in the Iranian family of languages particularly in Pehlvi and Persian the *k* and *n* are both interchangeable letters For this I beg to refer my readers to the following opinion of the learned Sir O Rawlinson and Dr Müller

The termination in *ak* and *ân* follow the variety of Pehlvi and Persian Orthography and are precisely analogous to the double forms of *عراق* and *ایران* *abastâk* and *apastân* &c\*\*

Besides this I have reason to read the above word *hitân* instead of *hitâk* because we find the verb in the

\* J. R. A. S. G. B. & L. of 1847 Vol. X. Pt. II. P. 80. Note 2. and Journal Asiatique April 1838. Essay on the Pehlvi language by Dr. Müller Vol. VII. P. 290 to 301.



Zand Avestâ having the personal termination<sup>c</sup> of the first person singular *nz* or *ne*, therefore according to its analogical termination with the Zand Avestâ I prefer to read at Hitân signifying "I may give" or "shall I give"?

Observe the above word is used already in the inscription in line eleventh and fourteenth with the additional terminations *z* *i*, for the first person singular as well as in the Zand Avestâ, but in their significations they do not differ from each other as far as their personal terminations of the first person singular are concerned

No 12th In line twelfth the sixth word *zak*, signifying "thou," I deciphered from Sir K. P's copy which answers in modern Pehlvi *ak*, the second person singular "thou", but after a comparison with Prof W's copy, I see it reads like *Zak* signifying "that" as a demonstrative pronoun, which does not answer to the original passage, therefore I prefer to read it *rak* according to Sir K P's copy

No 13th In line twelfth the seventh word *unê*, I first deciphered from the imperfect letters of Sir K P's copy, but after its comparison with Prof W's copy, I preferred reading it as *lahnê* signifying "law"

No 14th The same remark as above applies to the sixth word *tana*, in line thirteenth which I now prefer to read "*tia*"

No 15th In line fifteenth the fourth word *hurak*, was first deciphered by me from the imperfect letters of Sir K P's copy, but after its minute comparison with Prof W's copy, I was compelled to read it *hitâk* or *hitân*. For full explanation of this word, I beg to refer my readers to the note number eleventh in the previous pages.

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## APPENDICES.



## APPENDIX

### Note A, p 6

MODERN critics first raised strong objections to the authenticity of the Zand Avesta, and after most able discussions aided by all their present refined learning and abilities they came at last to the firm conclusion as to its genuineness. But they now ask to what family of languages the word Zand Avesta belongs? and what is the etymological signification of that word?

To the first question we can safely answer that it is of pure Arian origin. Dr Spiegel has ably discussed its origin and signification; but the learned orientalist does not feel satisfied himself with his own result. He is inclined to think it is derived from the Semitic languages. Conclusions contrary to this supposition are those of Dr Haug, Dr Chwolsohn and of Prof. Wexbergard all of whom agree that this compound word belongs to the Arian family of languages.

Now let us take a review of what opinions there are in regard to the signification of the above word. On this point I see all the orientalists have unanimously expressed their opinion as follows.

Avesta," i. e. Divine Revelation or Text, Zand means the explanation of this and Pazand the Supplements to the Zand or further explanation of the Zand doctrine.\*

From the above explanation we think their authorities are chiefly derived from Mahomedan writers; and amongst them the learned Dr Spiegel produces the evidence of Dastur Aspendyârji as an unexpected confirmation of those opinions and I think we may admit this view as a matter of individual opinion.

\* Gramm. tik der Pâral-sprache von Dr. Fr. Spiegel, P. 206-207. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Leipzig 1855 Vol. IX. P. 696-698. Zeit. Deut. Morg. Vol. VII. P. 408, 409 and Dunson's Egypt's Place in Universal History Vol. III. P. 474, Note 200.

I do not see any valid reason why M. Burnouf's opinion is overboarded, let us however see what ground the above-named learned orientalists show in favour of their assertions

In the foregoing pages I have already discussed the word "Zand Avesta," according to its traditional meanings,\* but when I see that our learned orientalists such as Dr Spiegel, Dr Haug, and Prof Westergaard, differ with me as to the genuine signification of the Zand Avesta, it is incumbent upon me to give in detail an etymological explanation of this compound word

The word "Zand" signifies according to Dr Spiegel †

"Zend Avesta" when we intend to speak of the writings of the first period in particular, we say Zend writings, i e, written in the Zend language. In order not to prolong this introduction unduly, I may perhaps be allowed, for the sake of brevity, to refer to the researches appended to my *Parsi Grammar* ‡. From these it appears that no valid ground can be found that the orientals ever designated a language, by the name of Zend, it rather means a book. We have likewise found the expression *Zendavesta* to be a younger, especially moslemic denomination, but that the genuine Persian sources inversely show *Avesta* and *Zend Avesta*, or in the older form *Apestâk* ( . . . with the *Syrians*) is literally the Text and is the only correct designation for the text of the holy scriptures, always used by the later Persians, when they do not use the expression "law" (dîn), which probably has a more limited meaning. In the invocations of the *Yaçna* and elsewhere in the older period the expression *Mānθrô çpēntō* i e the holy speech, occurs for the sacred writings, an expression which has also maintained itself later under the form *Mānsei-çpēnt*. For the language of this older period the *Parsces* use the expressions language of the *Mānθra*, language of the *Avesta*, celestial language, all three of which are unfortunately too unhandy for common usage, whilst the expression "old Persian language" is correct but too general. *Zend* however, a not yet sufficiently explained word, is said to designate the commentary of the

\* Vide P 6 7 of the above

† *Avesta die Heiligen Schriften Der Parsen* Von Dr. F. Spiegel Leipzig 1852 Erster Band P 45

‡ "(2) *Parsigrammatik*, P 1 ff P, 205 ff"

holy books, perhaps the Huzvarsh translation. The language of this translation the Paraces call Huzvarsh from the Zend *huzaothra* i. e. *bonum sacrificium habens* [having good sacrifice]. In connection with Zend, Pâzend is always named which expression seems to designate the glosses of the translation.

Dr Haug† and Prof Westergaard‡ are of the same opinion. Whatever opinion those orientalists may advance, they are unable to point out any ancient authority on the subject. Dr Spiegel merely quotes Dastur Aspandjari's unexpected authority in his favour§.

After consulting Aspandjari's authority he is still of opinion to look for a fitting etymology in the Semitic languages but if the Zend language is so copious in its grammatical forms then why should we look for its name in foreign languages. I think my learned friend's suppositions based on this head are merely that he found the Semitic form *Apestûk* of the Zend original "*Avesta*."

Dr Haug after a lengthy discussion in the Journal of the German Oriental Society at last quite agrees with Dr Spiegel and concludes as follows¶.

Let us now epitomize the results of the enquiry concerning the use of the names in question, in Pehlvi writings, and also in later Parsi notices 1) *Avesta*, *Zend* and *Pazend* are the names of sacred writings, which the myth carries up to Zoroaster and they are not names of languages as Anquetil had assumed *Zend* and *Pazend* to be 2) The relation of these three holy writings to each other is thus that *Avesta* is the oldest doctrine derived immediately from Ormuzd, *Zend* is an interpretation of this celestial doctrine, and *Pazend* a further explanation of the *Zend* doctrine."

If the learned orientalist thinks the myth carries the writings up to Zoroaster then where is the use of expostulating on the subject. However a member of the Zoroastrian community I, in my behalf

\* For the above English Translation I am indebted to my learned friend Mr Ed. Rehatsek.

† Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. Vol. IX. P. 607

‡ *Zendavesta or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians* By Prof Westergaard. Vol. I. Pro. P. I. Note 1).

§ *Grammatik Der Parsi-sprache* Von Dr F. Spiegel, P. 207 Note

|| *Avesta die Heiligen Schriften Der Parsen* Von Dr F. Spiegel, 1832 I. Band P. 45.

¶ Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. Vol. IX. P. 62

and also on behalf of those who adhere to the doctrine of Zoroaster, most strongly protest against such assertions and with this protest. I close the subject, leaving the matter to be elucidated by the learned Dr Chwolsohn \*

"What Spiegel demonstrates in his Grammar of the Parsi language, that Avesta means the text, Zend the commentary and Pazend the super-commentary of the Avesta, has been said already by Masûdi twice in the *Murûg'ed-dahab*, and once in the *Itûb-et-tenbin* (see Notices and Extr Vol. VIII P 159 ")

It seems from Dr Chwolsohn's letters that after consulting the Arab authors he quite agrees with Dr Spiegel

Prof Westergaard after a very short discussion seems to agree in some respect with Dr Spiegel and says †

"I shall here apply the form Zend to the ancient language and Zand to the Pehlvi translation "

The above system is adopted by Westergaard just changing the simple vowel "a" into "e" in the spelling, thus shewing his views on one point to be quite at variance with those of Dr Spiegel and Dr Haug

No matter what opinion may be adduced by those learned Orientalists, there is no valid ground to contradict the traditional and etymological meanings of the Zoroastrians

It is well known to orientalists in general, that the name of the Sacred Scriptures of Zoroaster is well preserved by oral repetition and has been transmitted from generation to generation down to the present day to the followers and professors of Zoroaster's religion, for which assertion I shall give detailed examples hereafter

My principal reason for admitting the signification of the word Zand Avesta according to the traditional system of the Zoroastrians, and according to the suggestion of M Burnouf and Dr Wilson, was based upon the following grounds

First it is well known to orientalists in general that names of the several Asiatic and European languages I mean the Asian European languages are chiefly derived from Countries, Provinces and Villages, then why should not the Zand in like manner be derived from the province "Zanta," if we take the theme "Zanta" of this substantive

\* Zeit Deut Moig Ges 1852 Vol VII P 408

† Westergaard's Zendavesta, 1852 Vol. I P I Note 1)

we can easily reduce to the nominative case 'Zand' as a proper name of the language; in like manner the other Arian languages have derived their origin here we see the analogous designations viz —Fardistan or Paristan, from the theme Fars or Pars designating the language Fārsi or Parsi and from Pehlō we derived the Pehlvi, then the secondary question will arise how the final letter 't' changed itself into dental 'd' for this we have several reasons to lay before our readers that it is an established rule in the Zand language as the verb in the present tense "Mraote" "speak" and in the past tense Mraod or Mraot "he spoke" and the pronoun Tūm and Dēm in the accusative case and the verb Daidhi and Daiti

Why should not we according to the above example derive the word Zand from Zantu by changing the anuswara ū, into simple nasal n and in like manner the dental d or t into d

Further we see the ancient inhabitants of the Zantu i. e. town borough or Village are called by the Armenian Historian Elisæus, Tm'k Zendik or Zendak.\* In the year of Christ 411 the well known Elisæus the author of the History of Vartan used in his work† the word Sandik for "Zandik" as the national name thus changing the "Z" into "S"

From the above quoted Armenian authorities it is obvious that the Zandik people must have had a language of their own and that according to the true nomenclature of their country it derived its name in the same manner, as the other Indo-Germanic or Arian European languages which are well known to have been named after their birth places, that is to say after Countries, Provinces and Villages, why therefore does Mr. Neumann seem to doubt very much whether the words Send and Zend are synonymous because the modern Mahomedan writers have given a wrong explanation of Send i. e. "heretics and heresies"‡ the falsification of the signification is quite apparent and requires no refutation from me as the following remarks are sufficient to show the reader how far the

\* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft of 1857 Vol. XI. P. 527

† Eng. Trans. of the above work of 1830 P. 31 and P. 95 Note 4 of which I will take due notice in succeeding pages as to the etymological construction of the word Sandik.

‡ English Trans. of the History of Vartan P. 95. 96 Note 4.



Mahoradan writers are to be believed. The same meaning of the above word is also given by Mirkhond\* owing to his limited knowledge of the old Persian language.

If we carefully compare the word Sendik with the original word "Zand" of the Arian family of languages, it will be seen at once that it is a corruption of the word Zendik, and is just no more than a metamorphosis that the Armenian authors we see have changed the Z into S, in the same way as is the case in the ancient Aire Cote language in which the word Zand is called San †. In later times some of the German Orientalists were in the habit of using the word Send‡ instead of Zend to suit their own articulation and even the ancient Armenian authors when writing regarding Zoroaster have used the word Sairatashd§ from the original Persian word Zaredusht and in the same way the ancient Irish called Zoroaster by the name Soraster ||. These examples clearly show that the original letter Z has on many occasions been changed by many authors into S to suit their own convenience. We cannot therefore doubt of the identity of the words Zand and Send and must therefore conclude. First that the ancient people of Zantu, are called by the Armenian authors "Zendik" or "Sendik". Secondly that for this reason the language of those people must be called the Zand.

After a most able exposition by Dr Spiegel and Dr Haug they came to the following conclusions. Dr Spiegel then proceeds to give a further explanation for which I am only doing justice to Dr Spiegel by quoting the following passages from his Parsi Grammar ¶.

"Now what means Avesta and Zend? On this subject Nerosengh informs us by translating both these words, in the first of the above

\* English Trans David Shea Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia of 1832 P 284.

† Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Cote and ancient Irish Preface P XXXVI

‡ J R. A. S G B & I Vol XV P 2 N I

§ Eng Trans History of Vartan P 82 Note 2 and The Phil Uni His by Bunsen Vol I P 328

|| Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Cote and Ancient Irish Preface P XXXVI

¶ Grammatik der Parsi-sprache Zusatze and Verbesserungen P 206-207

quoted passages of the *Yasna*, in the following manner '*aristārduim rydkhyndācha*' and in the second by "*aristārduim arthāncha*" Both these expressions also often occur in Veriosough, in glosses which are not existing in the Huxvareh translation. From what has been just said, it follows in my opinion indisputably that the Parsees understand by *Avesta* their sacred scriptures and by *Zend* their commentary or rather their translation; at present I no longer doubt that the glosses to this translation are called *Pazend*. From the Huxvareh translation it may be easily shown that by *Avesta* in reality the "text of the sacred scripture is meant, because the expression, it is clear from the *Avesta*" occurs too often to need an especial quotation. Dastur Darab even remarks upon an interpolated passage of the second Fargard. This *Avesta* is from another *Nosh*."

"But now what signifies *Avesta* and *Zend*? What *Avesta* signifies has already been clearly pointed out by J. Muller (*Essai sur le Pehlvi* P. 297). It entirely answers to our *Text*. I have nothing to propose for the word *Zend*, but if this word designates the commentary and consequently belongs to a later period, its explanation may perhaps be also found in the Semitic languages, and it is possible that a fitting etymology will be discovered in them since this has hitherto been unsuccessful from the Sanskrit. According to this hypothesis also the passage from the *Ulemd*: *Idānu* introduced in P. 13 will become plain. *Avesta* (the text of the holy books) is the "language of Ormazd, and *Zend* is our language (the "universally intelligible translation) and *Pazend* is that by which every one knows what he says (the glosses explanatory of the translation)""

From the foregoing remarks of this learned Orientalist it appears to me that Dr. Spiegel has not positively decided as to the etymological construction of the *Zand*, because he still is of opinion that a fit

\* I have just now found an unexpected confirmation of my views in J. Wilson. *The Parsi religion unfolded* etc. P. 402, Note. It is a new warning against the usual preconceived opinion opposing the Parsi tradition *Parsi*: "Aspandiarji very absurdly says "The *Vendidad* does not exist in the *Zend*, but in the *Avesta* language, which is sometimes denominated by the Parsees the celestial language. On this book a *Zend*, *Pazend* was written, which is no more than a commentary or paraphrase of the original text. Consequently Aspandiarji did not assert an absurdity but on the contrary he asserted that which is correct, (though as noticed by Dr. Wilson he afterwards speaks of "the *Zend* language")

ting etymology ought to be looked for from the Semitic languages and Dr Haug after considering this opinion of Dr Spiegel agrees on this point \*

Taking into consideration the minor points of argument we can deduce the safest conclusion for all of them as below, according to Dr Haug †

“206 Avesta means Direct higher knowledge, Divine Revelation, Zend means the explanation of this, and Pazend the Supplements to the Zend, or further explanation of the Zend doctrine. All the three steps exist in the present Zend Avesta or more properly Avesta-Zend. See upon this subject my treatise on this name in the *Morgenland Zeitsch* Vol IX P 694 seq”

From this and the facts above referred to it appears to us that neither Dr Spiegel nor Dr. Haug have given any satisfaction as to the real etymology of the word Zand Avesta and therefore I cannot admit the objection taken by both of them until they show sufficient cause for doing so. It is in this case obligatory on us to admit the predominant opinion of the Zoroastrians of Persia and India (which is based on its traditional version), a better reason than this cannot be adduced into the present polemical subject.

Sir W Jones after consulting the opinion of his friend Bahman says ‡

“But a learned follower of Zaratusth named Bahman, who lately died at Calcutta where he had lived as a Persian reader about three years, assured me, that the letters of his prophet's book were properly called Zend, and the language, Avesta, as the words of the Vedâ's are Sanscrit and the characters Nigamî”

The learned Orientalist Mulla Feroze states as follows §

“The K'hâsnuman is written by Rustomjî Bîramjî Sanzânâ in the Zand character

The learned Dustui Eduljî Dorabjî Sanzânâ has variously mentioned as below”||

\* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* Neunten Band P 697

† *Egypt's place in Universal History* Bunsen Vol. III P 474 Note 206

‡ Sir W Jones's works of 1807 Vol III P 113

§ *Avizê Din Yânê Khâlêsh Din* (Pure law or religion) of 1830 P 551

|| *Khordê-avestâ* written in Zand characters with Persian translation by the above named Dustui in the year of Yazdêzer 1169 see the beginning of first page

"Zand characters, i.e. Zand letters, written with corresponding Persian alphabets. The Vendidad is commenced in the Zand characters."\*

By the desire of the late Framji Cawasji, Esq. Dastur Framji Aspend Arji Rahbary translated the Vendidad Yaçna and Vispered, into the Gujrati language and transcribed the original Zand characters in Gujrati letters which the learned Dastur acknowledges in his preface †

A Ravâst, in my possession written about two centuries ago, contains the Khôrdâ Avestâ, minor fragments of Zand Avesta and a collection of various Affirms. In the same work the Zand alphabets are written and the writer distinctly says in the Index that they are in Zand characters.‡

Comparing the opinions of European orientalists we see no satisfactory etymological explanation given for the word Zand Avesta. Dr. Spiegel after searching for the root in the Sanskrit language acknowledges that he has been unsuccessful and he now expects to seek the root in the Semitic languages for a fitting etymology. Dr. Haug after referring to the Arian and Semitic families of languages for the root 'Zan' has been compelled to draw this conclusion —§

"Spiegel already has quite correctly derived the word Zand from the root Zan the verb is to be met with several times with the Prdp. ava in the meaning of to remark to perceive in the Vendidad the simple substantive Zantâ which we must take for our basis, I could not as yet discover on the other hand we find the composition patizanti of which hereafter Zand (a)I bad evil wherewith the New Pers. sajd dreadful, Armenian Zant bad despicable agrees must by no means be drawn into the discussion. The root Zan which we meet with in the Skr. gñâ Greek Latin gno Armenian dean (Aor. deanesh Inf. deanaceal to know to recognize) and in the Ossetic zon (Inf. zon in) has throughout the signification of to know to recognize accordingly Zantâ must mean knowledge, recognition

\* Lithographed Vendidad. Bombay Tanderjerd 1200 Pra. P. 2.

† The Vendidad Sâds of the Pâraïs, by the late Framji Aspendiarji and other Dasturs. Lithographed for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1842 Vol. I. Pra. P. 2.

‡ Ravâst written by Mobed Jemâed bin Kêkôbâd bin Jemâed in the year of Tanderjard 1078. P. 2. 388.

§ Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. Vol. IX. P. 627.

(explanation) At present Burnouf's interpretation needs no longer a refutation "

The above does not indicate the real etymology of the word Zand as it is inconsistent to admit it according to the rules of the Zand grammar. It seems to me that both Dr Spiegel and Dr Haug have overlooked the essential root of the same word from the Zand Avesta and I do not wish to flatter myself, but in justice to both of these learned men I beg to point out what I believe to be the original root of the above word from the Zand Avesta

The root "Zan" "to know" is no doubt derived from the verb Zanān\* signifying "they perceive, they know, they recognize, they observe, or they notice"? (In the Russian Polish and Bohemian languages Znadem i e I know) From this verb we can deduce the noun the Nom Sing Zand i e "explanation, meaning and recognition," and from this we may safely conclude for the word Pâzend i e explanation of explanation, that is to say sub-explanation and in a more appropriate sense to show the signification underneath the Zand,† as a verbal translation, and further we see the word "Âzuāntēm,"‡ signifying commentary § This word is used in an Accusative singular, the initial affix â is merely an inseparable preposition or an abstract prefix and the second etymon "Zant" means "explanation," and if we reduce it into the Nominative singular by changing the Anusavara ā into simple nasal n, and the dental t into d or t, it will be acceptable as a Nominative in "Zand" i e "explanation or recognition" And the last suffix ěm, is to be considered as a sign for the Accusative case

After coinciding with J. Muller, regarding the meaning of the word Avesta, Dr Spiegel says, "what Avesta signifies has already been clearly pointed out by J Muller (Essai sur le Pehlvi p 297) It entirely answers to our text ||

As to the signification of this word I quite agree with both these writers, but its etymology appears to me to be very imperfect

\* Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen Von Dr F. Spiegel I Band Vendidad Sechster Fargard P 57 German Translation Vol I P 121 Pt 94

† Wilson on the Parsi Religion P 200 N

‡ Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen von F. Spiegel II Band P 26 Para I und Kerdê or Chapter 16

§ German Translation Vol II P 26 chapter 16 Para I

|| Grammatik der Parsi sprache von Dr Fr Spiegel P 207

Dr Haug has already admitted this and very ally discuss<sup>d</sup> the matter as follows

"Let us look for a more correct and fitting derivation of the word. In the first place it varies as *vesta* and *vis* in all the Avestan Veda in New Persian *vis* [Avesta] in Old Persian writings. We may consider *vesta* as the most original of them because it may be found in the Old Persian writings which are much older than the New Persian sources. The *v* is early inserted as a prefix whereas the strictly so called root is *vis*. This can be only the root *vis* and not the first, which occurs in connection with *opisthonymos* *vis* (Avesta 9.95 Ven. 1.9.6) the latter has two meanings to *know* and to *get* obtain (in the latter signification we also find the form *vis* but only in the younger dialect, the older one shows no difference). The suffix *ta* is either the suffix of the part *pa* *ta* (in the neuter plural) or the abstract suffix *ta* (*vis* *ta*). The latter is the more probable since the Old Persian form of the part *pa* is merely *t* (see my *Abhandlung über die Pehlevi-sprache* p. 18), and the form *vis* *ta* presupposes a concluding *ling* *a* in *Zand*. Now what does *vesta* strictly mean? If it be derived from the root *vis* to know then it would mean knowledge. I am however not quite pleased with this derivation. I would rather refer it to the other root *vid* then it would mean either the *science that which has been found obtained* the former signification might be preferred because we find an entirely analogous designation of their holy books already among the Indians namely *Veda* (from the same root), according to the latter one only *translation* would be meant. But the circumstance is decisive, that in the *Zandavesta* (Avesta 9.3.11.10 Yesit 10.120) we meet with *vis* *ta* and *vis* *ta* from the root *vid* to know only these forms cannot at least immediately be referred back to the simple *vis* *ta* according to the context of the passages, but they belong to the causal form *vis* *ta*

\* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Leipzig 1857 IX Band P. 007

"1) Comp. *api* *vat* *Rig* *veda* VII.3,10; *et* *no* *Agno* *sau* *bhag* *did* *thy* *aj* *kratum* *sucetam* *ratna* i.e., *shino* *to* *us*, *Agul* *those* *goods* *of* *fortune* *we* *will* *confess* *the* *(thy)* *intelligent* *wisdom* *(praise)* *thy* *great* *wisdom*. Further passages have been collected by Roth *Nirukta* Erlaut. 1. 130

vaêdhaj, this [form Engl ti ] is a species of technical term for *consecrating, blessing* the Haoma, and strictly means to cause to *know immediately* (because the preposition â, instead of which we also find the yet stronger aiwi, means the immediate reference of the action to the object, which e g in Arabic is expressed by the so called 3rd conjugation) i e quite especially to operate upon it with holy words and formulæ, so that these may, so to say, become quite incorporated with it Accordingly aviçta means consecrated and âviçta consecration As far as the Avestâ in question is concerned there is no reason to attribute to it, the special signification of âviçta and âviçta, likewise it is not exactly necessary to refer the word back to the causal â-vaêdhaj, the derivation from the simple active may suffice accordingly Avestâ would mean the *immediate knowledge* i e the knowledge obtained by contemplation A better sense appears however to result if we base it upon the causal, in that case it would be, *the knowledge obtained by immediate communication, the higher revelation* \*"

The above explanation does not clearly point out the real root of the word "Avestâ" nor even the substantial etymology of the word in its direct sense, because Dr Haug has taken the root vid to *know*, from the causal from "â-vaêdhaj" which means to cause to know immediately, and accordingly "âviçta means consecrated and âviçta consecration" He also says, "the derivation from the simple active may suffice, accordingly Avesta would mean the immediate knowledge i e the knowledge obtained by contemplation A better sense appears however to result if we base it upon the causal, in that case it would be the knowledge obtained by immediate communication with the higher revelation"

We have sufficient reason to believe that this signification is admitted, but at the same time we cannot admit the causal form â vaedhaj, better than Nivaêdhajêmi i e "I cause to know" and "I make to know The ni is merely a combination

as an inseparable preposition and the root "vid" to know. This root however does not substantiate the ground of the word Avistā.

The great Orientalist Burnouf first brought to our notice the root "vid" to know to understand from the causal verb Niraedhaje mi Avas dayemah and vaedija or vidyn i. e. "divine science" and he thinks the latter the technical name for the theological literature of the Zoroastrian religion, Avesta. This explanation however is not accepted by orientalists in general. It will therefore be necessary for us to take a comprehensive review of the word Avistā in its primitive sense.

The verb Vista in the past tense signifies "known or understood" (or obtained) why therefore should we not reduce the direct root from this verb, "vis" to know to understand and use the formal word Avistā that is to say by immediate communication obtained the "Divine revelation" the prefix a must therefore be considered as a combination of a preposition or a an abstract affix and the suffix tā, is no more there as a sign of the nominative case in neuter.

If we deduce the word Avesta from the verb vista we may then take it in its strict sense the root Vis "to know" answers far better than the root vat rad and vid because in the past tense the verb vista "known" is quite apparent and according to Dr Haug the a early manifests itself as an abstract prefix and the ta merely as a suffix; we must then consider vis as a genuine root and from the foregoing explanations we may safely conclude that Avesta means "divine revelation, or holy speech." With regard to the latter signification I may safely compare vista with the *bastā* of the ancient Airo Cote language or old Irish.

The word *bastā* is used in the plural number and the singular is used in the Irish *Beas* which answers to the Zand root Vis.

The juxtaposition of the v and b is readily admitted by the rule of comparative philology not only in Avestic but in European languages and also in New Persian the word *Bestā* is often used.

In regard to the juxtaposition of the word Zand Avesta or Avesta Zand the ancient writers have used the word in various ways the reader is therefore very frequently confused regarding the true significations.

\* Journal Asiatique 1846. Ferr. Tom VII. P. 142-150.

† Dr Spiegel's Zand Avesta Yaana. HA VIII. 1 German Transl. then P. 182.



This will be seen by the following observation The word Zand Avesta means Avesta written in the Zand characters and in the Zand language, while Avesta Zand means Avesta with Zand version or commentary, and Pazand means sub-explanation under the Zand original, i.e. verbatim written underneath in the Huzvarash or in the Proper Pehlvi language or in New-Persian.

Respecting the signification of the word Zand Avesta Dr Spiegel, Dr Haug and the Russian Orientalist Dr Chowlsbon, have all referred to the several works of the Arabian and Persian writers, but it seems to me that they have overlooked the principal authority viz —the Sharistan Chârcheman which I beg leave to quote here as a matter of reference \*

ماهوریدوست انحصرت فرمود که این کلام الهی بعقیده آنان  
یعنی ترجمه معلومات من جانب الله است بطریق رمز و اشارات  
وکسی را یارای درک آن ندود حرار خدا و رسول او چون همگی ار  
درک آن و تفهیم معنی رد بل از قرات قاصر بودند مگر از ته پر که  
بارند مشهور و موسوم است.

"His Lordship said to Zahurbüst [ماهوریدوست] that these words are of God in the religion of the Abadians, namely that they are the interpretations of known things on the side of God [or by God himself] by way of mysteries and indications, nobody is capable to understand them except God and his prophet, since all of them were unable to reach and to understand the Zend meaning *nay they could not even read it* except through the explanation which is the well known so called Pazend "

The most important question was mooted by W Von Schlegel, and by Mr Curzon It was whether or not the word "Zand" is the corruption of the Sanskrit word Chhandas? I have already refuted this in the preceeding pages, but after having perused the article written by Prof Max Muller under the head of "The Last Results of the Persian Researches in Comparative Philology" wherein he writes —†

\* This work was written in the time of Fifth Sassan by Byrâm Farhâd and it was Lithographed in Bombay by Savaks Hormâzdiar in the year of Yazdezeri 1223 P 190

† Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History Vol I P 113

I still hold that the very name of Zend was originally a corruption of the Sanskrit word "chandas" (i. e. metrical language, cf *scandere*) which is the name given to the language of the Veda by Pāṇini and others. When we read in Pāṇini's grammar that certain forms occur in "chandas" but not in the classical language we may almost always translate the word "chandas" by Zend, for nearly all these rules apply equally to the language of the Avesta.

I do not see any valid ground why the learned Orientalist should hold this proposition firmly when we see an opinion like that Prof M. Müller expressed thus we cannot be much surprised at those of W Von Schlegel and Mr Curzon.

Prof M Müller in his recent work states —\*

"† *Zend-avesta* is the name used by Chagāni and other Muhammedan writers. The Parsis use the name *Avesta* and *Zend*, taking *Avesta* in the sense of text, and *Zend* as the title of the Pehlvi commentary. I doubt, however whether this was the original meaning of the word *Zend*. *Zend* was more likely the same word as the Sanskrit *chandas* (*scandere*) a name given to the Vedic hymns and *avesta*, the Sanskrit *avasthāna* a word which, though it does not occur in Sanskrit, would mean settled text. *Avasthita* in Sanskrit, means laid down, settled. The *Zend-avesta* now consists of four books, *Yasna*, Vispered *Yashts* and *Vendidad* (*Vendidad=vidāva dāta*; in Pehlvi, *Juddivdad*). Dr Haug in his interesting lecture on the Origin of the Parsi Religion" Bombay 1861, takes *Avesta* in the sense of the most ancient texts *Zend* as commentary, and *Parsad* as explanatory notes, all equally written in what we shall continue to call the Zend language."

From the above statement we cannot hold this theory to be firmly established unless it is confirmed by the universally adopted rules of comparative Philology. There is not a single example before us to show or support the authority of that learned orientalist and it does not appear to me that that Philologist has taken any pains like Dr Spiegel and Dr Houg to investigate the etymological signification of the word *Zend Avesta* otherwise he would never have neglected the rule of comparative Philology.

\*Lectures on the Science of Language 1861 by Prof. Max Müller P 102.

Note †

Prof Muller has compared the word Zand, with "chlandas,, (Scandere) of the Sanskrit, and Avesta, with the Sanskrit avasthana, I shall be glad to know from what conjecture this theory is expressed, because the rule of comparative Philology is not even capable of detecting it, and as the roots of both languages are not acceptable to each other, on what principle then may we rely I close with a request to the reader to refer to the preceding pages where I have already given a most detailed explanation on the etymology of the word Zand Avesta and Avesta Zand

### NOTE B, P 7

The name Zand Avesta is preserved by oral and written repetition by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia to this day, but even this epithet of the divine revelation is used by our foreign neighbours in various forms, for instance, the ancient inhabitants of Zantu *z e* "a town, borough or village," are called by the Armenian Historians Ehsus Zandik, or Zandak, (p 50 ed Veret 1838) and by Ezruk (confut haeret l u c 2)\* and also Ehsaeus, Sandik. (Eng trans His Var 1830 p 31) Mém Sur Diver Antiquités de l' Perse MDCCXCIII, p 362, 363, and Bibl Orient par Herbelot, p 501, as this word Zandik has been made use of to denote the national name of the people, we may therefore use the word Zand as a name of their language †

The Syrian author Josua Bar Bahlul has used Abestago or Avestago for the word Avesta ‡ and the Syro-Arabs, Abestâk or Avestak, § and the ancient form Apestak with the Syrians "is literally the text and is the only correct designation for the text of the holy scriptures," ¶ and the Semitic form is Apestak. \*\*

\* Zeit der Deut Morg Ges 1857, Vol XI p 527

† Yaghn p 228, J As 1846, Mars p 260, J As 1846, Fèvr p 135, 138

‡ Hyde Vet Per Parth Rel of 1760, p 337, Kleuker, Persica, Anhang Zum Zend Avesta 1783, p 5, and Transaction of the Literary Society of Bombay 1820 Vol II p 312, Note

§ Hyde Vet Per, p 337

¶ Dr Spiegel Avesta die Heiligen Schriften Der Parsen, 1852, Erster Band, p 45

\*\* Dr Max Muller Last Researches in Bunsen outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History of 1854, Vol I, p 118

The word Zand Avesta is also very correctly used in the 'ancient Airo Cote or in Anti Irish language "Sanabesta" i. e. holy speeches or holy scriptures,\* for a detailed explanation of this compound word the reader may refer in the preceding note to mark A.

In modern times the British and Continental Orientalists have used the word Avesta in manifold ways, such as Abastak and Apostant Avestan† Avestā§ in New Persian Vostā, or Vestā|| and for the word Zand, they have used the term Send ¶

The Divine Revelation of the Holy Zoroaster according to the firm belief of the Zoroastrians, formerly existed in twenty one Nooks or Volumes, viz —

- |                            |                                 |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Yathâ, Satud Yast.       | 12 Shyaothênan m Kh b t         |
| 2 Ahl, S tnlgar            | 13 Angheus, Safand.             |
| 3 Vairya, Bahlst manthrah. | 14 Mazdâi, Jarahat.             |
| 4 Athâ, Bagh.              | 15 Khasathrêmohâl, Baghân yast. |
| 5 Ratus Duward h hâmast.   | 16 Ahurâi, Nîdram.              |
| 6 Ashâi, Nâdar             | 17 Â, Aspâram.                  |
| 7 Ohîd, Pâjem.             | 18 Yim, Duasarwajd.             |
| 8 Hachâ Ratustâi.          | 19 Darêghubya, Ashkâram.        |
| 9 Vanghêus, Barash.        | 20 Dadhad, Vaudîdâd.            |
| 10 Dandâ, Khashasrah.      | 21 Vâstârêm Hâlokht.            |
| 11 M naghû Vistâspa.       |                                 |

Here I beg to quote the following explanation of the above named works of the Zand Avesta from Mr Troyer according to the Ravâst.

"This list is incorrect. It should begin by stating that the Nooks are twenty-one in number of words in the *Yatha-ahn vâiro*—but the ignorance of the transcriber has converted the three first words of a short prayer into the three first Nooks of the *Zend Avesta*.—D S.

According to several Parsee Doctors, seven of these Nooks, or rather *Yâskas* treated of the first principle, of the origin of beings, of the history of the human race etc. seven treated of morals and of civil and religious duties and seven of medicine and astronomy. The

Dictionary of the Ancient Irish 1802, Int. p. XXXVI.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & L. of 1847 Vol. X, Part II p. 80, Note 2.

‡ J. A. O. Society of 1836 Vol. 5, No II, p. 352.

§ Prof. Westergaard's *Zend Avesta* 1852, Vol. I, Pra. p. I, Note I.

|| *Zeit. der Deut. Morg. Ges.* 1855, Vol. IX, p. 600.

¶ J. R. A. S. G. B. & L. Vol. XV P. 2, N. 1.

Pehlvi books and some Persian works mention three other Nosks which are to complete the *Avesta* at the end of this world — (*Zend-Av*, t. I 1 Pp 479)

Here follows a list of the Nosks according to a translation made by Anquetil from the Persian Ravaet of Kanah Berch (see *Mémoires de l'Acad des Inscript et des B.L*, t xxviii p 239—354) I have abridged the explanation of each Nosk, the contents of several of them are much alike, and the miscellaneous matters in them all confusedly stated

I.—The first Nosk, called *Setud-Yesht*, “Nosk of prayer or praise,” has 33 chapters

II.—The second, named *Setud-ghor*, “Nosk of prayer and praise,” has 22 chapters, and treats of the purity of actions, of collections for the poor, of the concord which is to subsist between relations.

III — *Vehest Mantse*, “Heavenly word,” has 22 chapters It discourses on faith, on the strict observation of the law, and on the propensities of the heart Mention is made of the qualities of Zardusht, and of the pure people and pure actions which have existed before him

IV *Bagh*, “happiness, light, or garden,” in 24 chapters, states the substance and the true meaning of the law, God's command with respect to obedience, fidelity, justice, or purity of actions, the means of guarding against Satan, and of going into the other world

V *Dâzdah Hamast*, the twelve Hamasts, that is, “means or things produced at the same time” This book, in 32 chapters, speaks of the bad people of the upper and nether world, of the nature of all beings, of the whole creation of God, of the resurrection, of the bridge Chinavad, and of the fate after death

VI *Nader*, “the excellent, the rare” This book of 33 chapters is assigned to astronomy, to the influences of the stars upon the actions of men, it corresponds with the Arabic work Buftal (*Bufastâl*), its Persian name is *Favameshan* (*Favar masi han*) that is, by means of this science future events are known

VII — *Pajem* means, perhaps, “small animal, or retribution” This book, in 22 chapters, gives an account of quadrupeds, of actions permitted or not, what animals may be killed or eat, what not, what may be killed for the use of the *Gahanbars*, that is, the six festivals in the year instituted in commemoration of the first creation

of the world in 365 days and about regulations relative to these festivals, to meritorious acts and gifts.

VIII.—*Peteshku* "the book of warriors or of chiefs." The subjects of this book form 50 chapters, 13 of which only have survived the time of Alexander they are the orders of the king the obedience of the subjects, the conduct of the judges, the foundation of towns, and the various things and animals created by God.

IX.—*Berehti*, "execution of orders, or supremacy." This book of 60 chapters, 12 of which only remain after Alexander treats of kings and judges of the reciprocal relation of the governors and the governed, of the occupations prescribed to the different classes and professions of men of useful knowledge of the vices of men, and such like things.

X.—*Aseerod* perhaps "agreeable work." This book consisted at first of 60 chapters, of 15 only after Alexander's conquest, it discourses upon the soul, science, intellect natural and acquired upon morality and the consequences of its being observed or violated.

XI.—*Lehtasp, Vekasp*, once of 60 but after Alexander of 10 chapters only contains an eulogy upon the government of *Lehtasp* (*Gushasp*), upon his having adopted, observed and propagated *Zardusht's* Laws.

XII.—*A'hesht* "brick, or little lance or agriculture." This book in 22 chapters discusses six subjects relative to religion policy morals, cultivation, political economy and administration of justice. In the fifth part are stated the four venerable classes of men which are the kings and chiefs, the warriors, the cultivators, and the tradesmen.

XIII.—*Sefand*, "excellent," inculcates in 60 chapters the observance of moral and religious duties, and the faith in the miracles of *Zardusht*.

XIV.—*Serehti* "he does" this book, of 20 chapters, treats of the birth and the destination of man.

XV.—*Baghangrat*, "the yeast of the fortunate," contains in 17 chapters the praise of God, of the angels, and of the man who approaches God and is thankful for the benefits which he receives from above.

XVI.—*Vitaras means*, perhaps, "I do not seek my advantage."

This book, of 54 chapters, teaches the good employ of one's fortune, and the advantages of a good behaviour towards God and men

XVII *Asparam*, may signify "the ties, the book by excellence, the dawn, the heaven, perfect, plant, leaf." It treats in 64 chapters of the *Nerengs*, that is, of the powers, faculties in different acceptations, here of the powers of good actions, and of liturgical ceremonies

XVIII.—*Davaseruyed*, "he who offers the extreme expedient, or who speaks of it," of 65 chapters, shows the knowledge of men and animals, how the latter are to be taken care of, how travellers and captives are to be treated

XIX. *Aslaram*, "I discover, explain, make known, teach publicly," in 53 chapters, explains the obligation, the best establishment and limitation of laws and regulations

XX — *Vendidad*, "given for the repulsion of the Dêvs," of 22 chapters, forbids all sorts of bad, impure, and violent actions

XXI *Hadokht*, "the powerful *Has*," that is, "words of phrases of the *Avesta*," in 30 chapters, exhibits the manner of always performing many miracles, pure works, and admirable things

Of all these Nosks, not one, except the *Vendidad*, has been preserved complete, and the names of three only, namely, the *Setud-Yeshit*, the *Vendidad*, and the *Hadokht* are mentioned in the different Zand-books still extant. This shows that, at different times, changes in the forms of the written liturgy have taken place, and that the names, superscriptions, and divisions of the writings have been arbitrarily treated by different Dosturs, without any change in the contents

The names of the Nosks given by Hyde (343, 345), partly from the Dictionary *Faḥrang Jehangiri*, and partly from other sources not mentioned, are not correct nor rightly explained

Three additional Nosks are to be brought into the world by three posthumous sons of Zoroaster. See in a subsequent note their miraculous origin and actions

The Persian text of another Notice upon the Nosks somewhat more complete than that published by Anquetil in Roman letters, has been edited by Messrs Julius Mohl and Olshausen, of Kiel, (see *Flagmens relatifs à la Religion de Zoroastre, extraits des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 1829) — A. T \*

\* Eng Tran Dabistan or School of Manners Vol I, P 272, 275, N I

The remaining or the present portions of the Zand Avesta consist of the following —

Vendidad.	Vistaspa Nask.
Yasna.	Haddôkhat Nask.
Vispered.	Khordô avestâ, etc.

# NOTE C p. 30

The word *Baga* "God or Divine," Mr. E. Salisbury\* has compared with the Sanskrit *Bhaga* in the title Bhagavat, the "holy the blessed one," and according to the point of comparative Philology it may be admitted, but at the same time we have strong reason to think the original word *Baga* is of a pure Arian origin. This epithet of the Great Omnipotence is often used in the Zand Avesta,† in its various forms according to the termination of the cases and even from the most remote times the ancient-Persian, Median, Soghdian and Bactrian, and also the Russian I ollah Bohemian, and also in all the Slavonic languages they still use the word *Bag* ‡ in the same manner as the English and other Germanic nations still use the word God, and Gott, derived from the Persian *Khoda* خدای as a proper name of the Supreme being and the late Russian *Osar* § used to worship the *Baga* as a God, and further we see the primitive Arian children have preserved the epithet on the great tablet of Persepolis and this monumental record of the Achemenian Kings is about four or five centuries B.C. old and in the latter time the Sassanid Kings have most copiously used the same title in the Bilingual Pahlvi Inscriptions of Haji abad, and in the Trilingual inscriptions of the Nakhsh-e Rostam, Nakhsh-e Rostam, and Kermanshah. From this, it is quite evident, that the Perso-Arians

Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol. I p. 552.

† Yasna T. I. p. 48 Vend. dad Sade von Dr. H. Brockhus, p. 380.

‡ Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen von Dr. Spiegel, Vol. I., page 260, N. (5) ; Vol. II., p. 78, N. (4) Mithra von Dr. Fr. Windischmann c. XXXIII.

§ Edinburgh Review Vol. 93 p. 230

¶ Professor Westergaard's Pahlvi Bundehesh, p. 83 marked A and B Memoires sur Diverses Antiquites De La Perse Par S. D. Sacy p. I., Pl. I. Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol. II., Pl. LV



have preserved the name of their creator better than the Hindu-Arian and other nations

In the old Persian language this word *Baga* is used in the same sense as in the Zand Avesta, and according to the opinion of Professor F Pott, the word *Bagdād*\* signifies "given or created by God."

From the Old Persian word *Baga* the Sanskrit has derived the word *Bhaga* by changing the labial *b* into the aspirate *bh* and have used it as a title of the Bhâgavat.

*Hyâ*, "he who" Mr Salisbury has compared with the compounded *hyâ*, i e *ha*, "he" and *ya* "who", and with Vêdic Sanskrit *śyas*, but this compound pronoun is always to be found in the Zand Avesta, *Hyâ*, "he who" *Ha* is merely the pronominal root of the Zand *Hu*, "he" third person masc nom sing and *ya* the relative pronoun signifies "who or which," and thus use it in the inscription as a copulative pronoun *Hyâ* "he, who"†

*Bumim*, "earth," is compared by this learned scholar with the Sanskrit *Bhumim*, but I do not see any reason of comparing this word with the Sanskrit, as it is often found in the Zand Avesta and in exact form *Bumim*, "earth," fem acc Sing‡

*Martiyam*, "mankind," he has compared with the Sanskrit *Martiyam*, but this word is also so common, that in Zand we can easily find the theme *Marēta* "mankind" and the regular acc sing we may use as *Marētēm* as *Barentem*

*Akunusha*, "created" third pers sing of an aorist, formed with the augment *â* and the auxiliary affix *sha* for *shat*, Sanskrit *sat* from the root *Ku* substituted for *Ka*, with the conjugational sign *nū*, comp the Sanskrit root *Ku* for *Krī*, and mod Per *Kun*, to make In the same tense of the Sanskrit the conjugational sign did not appear §

The above etymological explanation may be admitted according to the uncertain rule of comparative philology, but we have a most substantial reason to analyse this verb better than the principle of the Sanskrit grammar, the augmented *â* is considered by Mr Salisbury as an aorist according to the rule of Greek grammar to use before a past-tense of the verb, but in the Zand language we see it is always used as an aorist as well as an inseparable preposition with the verb as *â*, *nî*,

\* Zeit Deut Mor 1859, 13 Band III Heft p 393

† J A O Society, Vol I, p 553

‡ Ibid, p 553

§ Ibid, p 554

fra. or frā as in the following — *Ākērēndm* "I created" *Āgērepta*, "acquired," *Āraedhayēmahi* "we invoke," *Nīratūhyēmi* "I invoke" *Fraxata* "proclaimed" *Frākerental* "he has made or he has created."

From the above examples I must reduce the word, according to the rule of Zand philology *ākunusha*, is used in the past tense signifying "created" *d* is merely an abstract suffix or as an inseparable preposition, and the second etymon "Ku for kero" is the root "to make or to do" and "æ" is the conjugational sign of the past tense of the verb, and affix "eha" is used as a personal termination of the verb as third person singular number compare with the Zand regular verb *keremahi*, "thou makest," present tense, used in the sense of second person singular instead of the past tense of the verb in third per sing.

*Parxatm*, "of many (people)," gen. plur\* comp with the Zand regular gen. plur *Parunaram* "of many persons"†

For the words "*dahyundm*" and *kakhamanushya* I beg to refer the reader to the foregoing page 37 where I have already compared the above words with the Zand Avesta.

#### NOTE D p. 31.

The elaborate work of the Desâtir was published in Persian and English, in 1818, by the learned Mulla Feroz Bin Kaus in Bombay and at that time strong objection was urged by the Bengal Critique and others, against the authenticity of the Desâtir but Mulla Feroz, the well known Editor of this work, most ably handled the subject, and at last, not only satisfied the literary fraternity of India, but also the members of the several savans on the continent of Europe.‡

The opinion of but very few learned scholars has prevailed that

J. A. O. S. Vol. I., p. 534.

† Zendavesta by Prof. Westergaard, Vol. I., p. 254 5 34, and Bahîm Yasht. Kerd 14.

‡ Asiatic Journal Vol. viii., P. 355, 362 and 584. Vol. ix., P. 116, 123, and the Dabistan or School of Manners Eng. Trans. Vol. I., Int. P. lxx lxxv

the language of the Desâtr was a forged one, but no one has yet reviewed this language according to the rule of comparative philology, except the distinguished Baron von Hammer, who deserves the best thanks of the Zoroastrian community, for not only establishing the authenticity of the language, but for having pointed out the deficiencies of the original commentaries

I must, at the same time, add the name of the learned orientalist, Mr A Troyer, who has most ably discussed the matter in regard to the authenticity of the Mahabadian language, after coinciding with the opinion of the most learned orientalist Baron von Hammer, he speaks in the following terms \*

“ General arguments, opposed to general objections, may produce persuasion, but are not sufficient for establishing the positive truth concerning a subject in question. It is necessary to dive into the Mahabadian language itself for adequate proofs of its genuineness. I might have justly hesitated to undertake this task, but found it already most ably achieved by Baron von Hammer,† in whom we do not know which we ought to admire most, his vast store of Oriental erudition, or the indefatigable activity, with which he diffuses, in an unceasing series of useful works, the various information derived not only from the study of the dead letter in books, but also from the converse with the living spirit of the actual Eastern world. This sagacious reviewer of the Desâtr, examining its language, finds proofs of its authenticity in the nature of its structure and the syllables of its formation, which, when compared to the modern pure Persian or Deri, have the same relation to it as the Gothic to the English, the old Persian and the old Germanic idioms exhibit in the progress of improvement such a wonderful concordance and analogy as can by no means be the result of an ingenious combination, nor that of a lucky accidental coincidence. Thus, the language of the Desâtr has syllables of declension affixed to pronouns, which coincide with those of the Gothic and Low German, but are not recognisable in the modern form of the Persian pronouns. This is also the case with some forms of numerical and other words

“ The Mahabadian language contains also a good number of Germa-

\* Dabistan Eng Trans Vol I, P 117-118

† See *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* Vom Jänner te Juni 1823, Nos 6, 12, 13, 18, 20

nis radicals which cannot be attributed to the well known affinity of the German and the modern Persian because they are no more to be found in the latter but solely in the *Desâtîr*. This has besides many English Greek and Latin words, a series of which Baron von Hammer exhibits, and which ought to be duly noticed, — a considerable number of Mahabadian words belonging also to the languages enumerated, are sought in vain in any Persian dictionary of our days ! Surely an accidental coincidence of an invented fictitious language, with Greek, Latin, and Germanic forms would be by far a greater and more inexplicable miracle, than the great regularity of this ancient sacred idiom of Persia, and its conformity with the modern *Deri*. It is nevertheless from the latter that the *saugui* is chiefly inferred.

"Moreover the acute philologist analysing the Mahabadian language by itself, points out its essential elements and component parts, that is, syllables of derivation formation and inflexion. Thus he adduces as syllables of derivation certain vowels, or consonants preceded by certain vowels he shows certain *ic* and *ing* terminations to be syllables of formation for substantives, adjectives, and verbs he sets forth particular forms of verbs, and remarkable expressions. All this he supports by numerous examples taken from the text of the *Desâtîr*. Such a process enabled him to rectify in some places the Persian translation of the Mahabadian text.

"I can but repeat that my only object here is to present the question in the same state that I found it and am far from contesting nay I readily admit, the possibility of arguments which may lead to a contrary conclusion. Until such are produced, although not presuming to decide I may be permitted to believe that the language of the *Desâtîr* is no forgery. I may range myself on the side of the celebrated Orientalist mentioned, who, ten years after the date of his review of the *Desâtîr* (ten years which, with him, are a luminous path of ever increasing knowledge) had not changed his opinion upon the language of the *Desâtîr* and assigns to it\* a place among the Asiatic dialects according to him, as it is more nearly related to the new Persian than to the Zand and the Pehlevi it may be considered as a new intermediate ring in the hermetic chain which connects the Germanic idioms with the old Asiatic languages it is

perhaps, the most ancient dialect of the Deri,\* spoken, if not in Fars, yet in the north-eastern countries of the Persian empire, to wit in Sogd and Bamian. When it ceased to be spoken, like several other languages of by-gone ages, the Mahabadian was preserved perhaps in a single book, or fragment of a book, similar in its solitude to the Hebrew Bible, or the Persian Zend-Avesta."

From the above authority, I must consider the language of the Mahábáðian nation a most ancient one. I have most substantial grounds to say that it was the primitive language of mankind, from the fact, that no words in any of the known languages, either ancient or modern, are to be found in it, but on the contrary, I find, that the Mahabadian language has supplied the roots to the Arian, Semitic, and Turanian families of languages.

Further in 1843, from the original Persian and English translation of the Desâtr, it was translated into the Guzratî language, and the translator says in his preface as follows.—†

"The learned Mulla Firoz then answered every question with great ability and satisfied the learned world at large who then at last laid their belief on the authenticity of the Desâtr, and before that the testimony contained in several public works amongst which that by the‡ "Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings at the public visitation of the College of Fort William on the 15th July 1816, is that which is most highly gratifying to the Editor, not only as being the opinion of a nobleman profoundly conversant with the history and spirit of the East, but as containing a flattering compliment to the Editor himself. Among the literary notices of this year, says the Governor General, there is one, which, although not edited under the immediate auspices of this Institution, or even of this Government, is nevertheless so great a literary curiosity, that I cannot refrain from bringing it forward, by public mention, on this occasion. I allude to that interesting work the Desâtr, which had

\* *Ibidem*, pp 20-21. Deri was spoken on the other side of the Oxus, and at the foot of the Paropomus in Balkh, Meru, in the Badakhshan, in Bokhara and Bamian. The Pehlevî was used in Media proper, in the towns of Rai, Hamadan, Ispahan, Nehawend, and Tabriz, the capital of Azârbâyân.—Beside the Deri and Pehlevî, Persian dictionaries reckon five other dialects, altogether twelve dialects, of ancient and modern Persian.

† Guzaratî Translation of the Desâtr, Pre P I

‡ "See Preface p vi of the English Desâtr"

for some time been hid from the literary world until a copy was almost accidentally recovered by the learned Chief Priest of the Parsee religion at Bombay. A translation into English and a glossary of the obsolete words have been prepared under the superintendence of the Mulla, and in this state the work is now in the press at that presidency. The Desâtir which purports to be a collection of the works of the elder Persian prophets, will be peculiarly an object of curiosity with the learned of Europe as well as of this country for it is unquestionably the only relique which exists of the literature of that period of Persian history which is familiar to us from its connection with the history of Greece."

And besides this several other learned Europeans have expressed their opinion most ingeniously as to the authenticity of the Desâtir such as Sir W. Jones, the President of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, the Honorable Jonathan Duncan, the late Governor of Bombay Sir John Malcolm, the late Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia, Sir Robert Ker Porter Sir W. Ouseley Messrs. Anthony Troyer and Baron Von Hammer. Members of the Royal and other Asiatic Societies of Great Britain and Ireland Paris and Calcutta. All these celebrated Orientalists have carefully examined the genuineness of the Desâtir.

From the above opinions of the most learned Orientalists, it appears quite evident, that the language of the Mahabadlian Nation deserves the highest credit for its genuineness and the opinions of such learned men are highly creditable and worth while to be recorded as credentials. No one can deny that the language of Desâtir bears a prominent place amongst all the languages spoken on the face of the earth. If any learned philologist wishes to satisfy himself on this point, he may just compare the language of Desâtir with the known languages, according to comparative Philology and he will soon find out the superiority of the Mahabadlian language over other languages, and from that fact we can establish that this language existed with the paramount Nation.

Pak to or Pushto language of the Afghans. It is to be regretted that we so often see learned scholars so bold to express their decision at once against the authenticity of this language without examining the principal rules of the language, and the diversity of opinion against the language this shows their limited learning in

oriental languages, in fact, they are quite ignorant of Comparative Philology

It is well known to orientalists in general, that the Pushtu language is the most popular language among the Afghans or Patans, and at present is the language spoken by the inhabitants of Kabul

Regarding it, the learned Professor Max Muller, after coinciding with the valuable opinion of Captain Raverty, expresses his opinion as below \*

“The Pushtu language is spoken with considerable variation in orthography and pronunciation from the valley of Peshin south of Kandahar to Kafiristan on the north, and from the banks of the Helmand on the west, to the Attok, Sindhu, or Indus on the east throughout the Sama or plain of the Yusufzo's, the mountainous districts of Begawer, Pangkora, Suwat, and Bunir, to Astor on the borders of little Tibet a tract of country equal in extent to the Spanish peninsula.”†

From this no man of learning can assert that the Pushtu language is fabricated

The experience of Captain Raverty was followed by that eminent Lexicographer, compiling and publishing a Grammar and a Dictionary of the Pukhtu or Pushtu language, which in itself is sufficient to satisfy any doubt on the subject, otherwise, how could that orientalist have succeeded in composing a most copious Dictionary, containing forty thousand words, and a Grammar, of the Afghanians language ‡

#### NOTE E, p 35

Sir W Jones's opinion that all Nations are only colonies of this primitive people of Iran, is most strongly supported in the following terms by Lieut-General O Vallancey§

“Since my first attempt to prove, by the ancient history and lan-

\* The languages of the Seat of War in the East 1855, p 33

† See Raverty in the Journal of the As Soc of Bengal No 244

‡ I beg most particularly to refer the reader to Captain Raverty's opinion in the Preface and Introduction to his Grammar and Dictionary of the Pushtu language

§ Dictionary of the Language of the Ane Coti or Ancient Irish 1802. Intu p 1

guage of Ireland that the South of Europe was colonized from Iran or Persia and Armenia in the East, and that from Spain these colonists navigated to and settled in the Western Isles and finally in *Ireland Mann* and the *North of Scotland* many learned men have taken up the same point and particularly our countrymen Sir W. Jones Mr. Erskine Mr. Wilford and Mr. Halliass, men well learned in all the Languages of the East, and finally the Rev. Mr. Maurice. In his learned works, the *First politics of India* and the *History of Hindostan*. Sir W. Jones, in the Zend and Sanskrit, did cover mention made of an ancient people, that inhabited the empire of *Iran* or *Persia*, much anterior to the Assyrian the first nation known to our Europeans and that the Egyptians and the Chinese who have been esteemed the most ancient of all nations, are only colonies of this primitive people of Iran."

Dr. Max Müller the well known Sanskrit scholar and Professor of European Language Oxford, who has devoted his time to the modern researches of Comparative Philology expresses his opinion as follows :—

"In Europe the Arian family has sent out five great branches the Celtic, Teutonic, Italic, Hellenic and Slavonic or Windic."

From this expression of Professor Max Müller it is quite evident that Iran or Arian is the primitive land of mankind for which I refer the reader to the succeeding note O, where I have fully treated of the subject.

#### NOTE F p. 38.

How many parts of speech there are in the *Zend Avesta* and in the *Vedic Sanskrit* has not yet been decided by Philologists. In ancient times the Indian Grammarians designated four classes of words,† but the newly discovered science of Comparative Philology and the modern investigation of the Continental Philologists have distinguished more than nine sorts of words which are commonly called Parts of Speech, such as Substantive verb, Pronominal adjective Pronominal adverb, and Copulative pronoun, etc. and we still see by the help of

Max Müller's *Survey of Languages*. 1856 p. 30

† Prof. Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 161



Comparative Philology that the philological nomenclature of several words is being daily extended. We have no complete grammar except Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar and Benfey's Grammar to decide as to how many sorts of words there are in both languages.

It will appear to the reader from the following example that the grammatical construction of the Zand Avesta, is not only superior to the classical Sanskrit, but that also a more comprehensive form of words is to be found in the Zand Avesta than in the Vedic Sanskrit, which facts have been well established by the most learned Philologist, Professor Bopp in his Comparative Grammar.

In the Zand Avesta the demonstrative pronoun *ava* "that or this" is also used in the sense of a preposition. But in the Sanskrit, it is only used as a preposition, and the sense of pronoun is totally lost.†

Here I beg to quote the example from the work of that great philologist, Professor Bopp ‡

"I refer the reader preliminarily to my two last treatises (Berlin, Ferd. Dummler) "On Certain Demonstrative Bases, and their connection with various Prepositions and Conjunctions," and "On the Influence of Pronouns on the Formation of Words" Compare, also, U. Gottl. Schmidt's excellent tract "Quæst. Gramm. de Præpositionibus Græcis," and the review of the same, distinguished by acute observations, by A. Benay, in the Berlin Annual (May 1830). If we take the adverbs of place in their relations to the prepositions and a near relation does exist—we shall find in close connection with the subject a remarkable treatise of the minister W. von Humboldt, "on the Affinity of the Adverbs of Place to the Prepositions in certain languages." The Zand has many grammatical rules which were established without these discoveries, and have since been demonstrated by evidence of facts. Among them it was a satisfaction to me to find a word, used in Sanskrit only as a preposition (*ava*, "from,") in the Zand a perfect and declinable pronoun (§ 172). Next we find *Sa-cha*, "*isque*," which in Sanskrit is only a pronoun, in its Zend

\* I was first informed by Mr. Mun's work of Benfey's Complete Sanskrit Grammar, unfortunately I have not the opportunity of seeing that work. See original Sanskrit Texts, pt. II, p. 491, note 28.

† Professor Bopp Comparative Grammar Trans. vol. II, p. 530, § 377.

‡ Ibid. vol. I, Pre. p. xvi. Note.

shape *अथ* *ha-cha* (§ 53) often used as a preposition to signify out of the particle *अथ* *cha* "and," loses itself like the cognate *que* in *abyss* in the general signification.

#### NOTE G p. 38.

The words *Arya-nēm* *Fatju* and *Arya-darsta* I have already discussed in the previous pages of this work and I then distinctly pointed out the primitive claim of the Zoroastrian *Aryas* for their original country more than for the Brahmanic *Aryas* and so far it has been positively ascertained that the Hindus own Vedas and Puranas which do not show that *Arya* was their primitive abode like the pure *Aryans* of the Zand Avesta, the Perso-Medians, Bactrians and Soghdians. Now with this remark I beg to refer the reader to the opinion of my learned friend Dr. Wilson,\* who has clearly pointed out what the *Aryas* were in the time of the Vedas, and these remarks are sufficient to render any attempt at explanation or addition unnecessary as the following remarks are sufficient in themselves to explain this.

Further then it is interesting to observe what the learned Council of the Sanskrit Literature says on this head. The printing of this work had nearly been completed when I received Mr. Max Müller's work, and in justice to the cause of Indo-Aryans I think it is quite fair to quote the opinion of the most able advocate of the Vedic and Sanskrit Literature who speaks as follows —†

*Arya* is a Sanskrit word, and in the later Sanskrit it means *noble of a good family*. It was, however, originally a national name, and we see traces of it as late as the Law book of the *Mānava*, where India is still called *Arya-darsta*, the abode of the *Āryas*.‡ In the old Sanskrit, in the hymns of the Veda, *arya* occurs frequently as a national name and as a name of honour comprising the worshippers of the gods of the Brahmanas, as opposed to their enemies, who are called in the Veda *Dasyus*. Thus one of the gods, *Indra* who in some respects, answers to the Greek *Zeus* is invoked in the following words (Rigveda, I. 57. 8) "Know thou the *Aryas*, O *Indra*, and those who

India Three Thousand Years Ago of 1858 p. 17—19

† Lectures on the Science of Language, of 1861 p. 224—226

‡ *Arya bhūmi*, and *Arya-desa* are used in the same sense.

are Dasyus, punish the lawless, and deliver them unto thy servant ' Be thou the mighty helper of the worshippers, and I will praise all these thy deeds at the festivals "

In the later dogmatic literature of the Vedic age, the name of *Ârya* is distinctly appropriated to the three first castes—the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas—as opposed to the fourth, or the *Sûdras*. In the *Sâtâpatha-Brâhmana* it is laid down distinctly " *Âryas* are only the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, for they are admitted to the sacrifices. They shall not speak with everybody, but only with the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya. If they should fall into a conversation with a *Sûdra*, let them say to another man, ' Tell this *Sûdra* so ' This is the law "

"In the *Atharva-veda* (iv 20, 4, xix 62, 1) expressions occur such as, " seeing all things, whether *Sûdra*, or *Ârya*," where *Sûdra* and *Ârya* are meant to express the whole of mankind

This word *ârya* with a long *â* is derived from *arya* with a short *a*, and this name *arya* is applied in the later Sanskrit to a *Vaisya*, or a member of the third caste \* What is called the third class must originally have constituted the large majority of the Brahmanic society, for all who were not soldiers or priests, were Vaisyas. We may well understand, therefore, how a name, originally applied to the cultivators of the soil and householders, should in time have become a general name for all Aryans † Why the householders were called *arya* is a question which would carry us too far at present. I can only state that the etymological signification of *Arya* seems to be "one who ploughs or tills," and that it is connected with the root of *arare*. The Aryans would seem to have chosen this name for themselves as opposed to the nomadic races, the *Turanians*, whose original name, *Tura* implies the swiftness of the horseman."

From the above explanation I do not find any thing new except the Law-book of the *Mânava*s to alter my opinion, because these

\* Pân III I, 103

† In one of the Vedas, *arya* with a short *a* is used like *ârya*, as opposed to *Sûdra*. For we read (*Vâj-San* XX 17) " Whatever sin we have committed in the village, in the forest, in the home, in the open air, against a *Sûdra*, against an *Arya*,—thou art our deliverance "

expressions have already been mentioned in the *Edinburgh Review* \* and I have expressed my opinion in previous pages† in respect of them.

From the above opinion of this learned orientalist we can deduce the following significations 1. "*Arya* is a Sanskrit word, and in the later Sanskrit it means *noble of a good family*" 2. "We see traces of it as late as the Law book of the *Mānavas*, where India is still called *Arya avarta*, the "*abode of the Aryas*."‡ 3. In the old Sanskrit, in the hymns of the Veda, *arya* occurs frequently as a national name and as a name of honour comprising the worshippers of the Gods of the Brahmins, as opposed to their enemies, who are called in the Vedas *Dasyus*. 4. In the later dogmatic literature of the Vedic age, the name of *Arya* is distinctly appropriate to the three first castes—the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas—as opposed to the fourth or the Śūdras. 5. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, it is laid down distinctly *Aryas* are only the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. 6. In the *Atharva Veda* (iv 20 4, xix 63 1) expressions occur such as, "*seeing all things, whether Śūdra or Arya*, hence Śūdra and Arya are meant to express the whole of "*mankind*."

I think the learned orientalist has overlooked the Puranas because it is distinctly mentioned as follows —§

As far as the sea to the east and sea to the west between these two mountains, lies the country which the intelligent know as *Ārya varta*. 2. *Manu* II. 22"

The testimonies of the Vedas and Puranas are both insignificant to point out the real geographical position of *Ārya dvārjā*. We see the *Mānavas* have no authority to designate *Āryā-avarta* to be India Proper and the Puranas authority when we compare it with the Vedas, is no more than a fable written by a classical Sanskrit scholar in contradiction to the Vedas. In the Vedas this patronymic name is used as a national name of the Brahmins and for others. In one case we must admit that the Hindus as well as other European nations have a claim upon *Āryana Vajyu* in the common form of *Ārya*

\* *Edinburgh Review* of 1851 Vol. 94, P 315

† Vide p 41—42 of the above.

‡ *Ārya bhumi* and *Ārya deśa* are used in the same sense.

§ J. R. A. S. G. B. & I., Vol xvi, p 141

*avarta* as their paternal birth-place, and the Hindus are not the autochthonous nations of India, but mere foreign settlers. In fact, the Vedas show no authority in their favour for *Ārya avarta*, for its strict etymological signification or geographical position which the learned Max Muller acknowledges in the following words —\*

“In India, as we saw, the name of *Ārya*, as a national name, fell into oblivion in later times, and was preserved only in the term *Āryā-varta*, the abode of the Aryans”

The above allusion of Professor Max Muller, forced us to believe that the name *Ārya avarta* has fallen into oblivion in later times amongst Hindus, but there is no mention made in the oldest text of the Vedas that *Ārya varta* was the primal birth-place of the Hindus, and in the latter Sanskrit Literature whatever they stated regarding the *Ārya varta* was no doubt borrowed from Persian authorities by classical Sanskrit scholars. In proof of this I shall offer here some testimonies to satisfy the literary world

According to the doctrine of the Zand Avesta *Aryānē Vaejū* was the primal seat of mankind, and from the most ancient times this epithet was preserved as a national name of the Iranians, not only in sacred records but also on the tablet of the great Monument of Persepolis and this honourable title was used by almost all the Persian Kings, which is enthusiastically received by the modern Zoroastrians who are designated as *Arian* descendants. These facts have *prima facie* evidences from the sacred records of the Zoroastrians as well as from the monumental relics. The ancient traditions are preserved in the Zand Avesta, that the primitive abode of happiness is called *Aryānē Vaejū*, “the Arian source or Arian birth-place,”† and in point of Comparative Philology the word *Arya* stands in more primitive form than in any other Arian-European languages. In the Zand Avesta the etymological significations of the above word are as follows. —The venerable, noble, believer, honourable title, name of the land or people, celestial descendant and the worshipper of Ormazd. With respect to the geographical position of *Aryānē Vaejū*, I would refer the reader to the succeeding page, note I and to the following remarks of Max Muller. It will be interesting to

\* Lectures on the Science of Language, 1861, p. 226

† In the first Fargard of the Vendidad

the reader to perceive what the learned Prof. or Max Müller says regarding the Perso Aryans or Iranians —\*

"But it was more faithfully preserved by the Zoroastrians who migrated from India to the north west and whose religion has been preserved to us in the *Zend Avesta*, though in fragments only. Now *Arya* in *Zend* means venerable and is at the same time the name of the people.† In the first chapter of the *Vendidad* where Ahuramazda explains to Zarathust the order in which he created the earth sixteen countries are mentioned each when created by Ahuramazda being pure and perfect" but each being afterwards tainted in turn by Angromainyus or Ahriman. Now the first of these countries is called *Arya nemarjôd irani zamin* the Aryan land and its position must have been as far east as the western lips of the Belus and Minus near the sources of the Oxus and Yaxartes, the highest elevation of Central Asia.‡ From this country which is called their seed the Aryans advanced towards the south and west, and in the *Zend-avesta* the whole extent of country occupied by the Aryans is likewise called *Aryâ*. A line drawn from India along the Paropamisus and Caucasus Indicus in the east, following in the north the direction between the Oxus and Yaxartes,§ then running along the Caspian Sea, so as to include Hyrcania and Râgha then turning South-east on the borders of Nisaea, Aria (i. e. Paria) and the countries washed by the Etymandrus and Arachotus, would indicate the general horizon of the Zoroastrian world. It would be what is called in the fourth Cardé of the *Yasht* of Mithra, the whole space of Aria *staxen airyâ—sayanem* (totum Arlo situm)|| Opposed to the Aryan we find in the *Zend-avesta* the non Aryan countries (*anairyâo dathuhâvô*) ¶ and traces of this name are found

Lectures on the Science of Language, p. 220—230

† Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* b. i. s. 6

‡ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* b. i. s. 506

§ Ptolemy knows Artâkal, near the mouth of the Yaxartes. *Ptol.* v. 14; Lassen, *loc. cit.* i. 6

|| Burnouf, *Yasna*, notes, 61. In the same sense the *Zend-avesta* uses the expression Aryan provinces, *airyanâm daqyanâm* gen. plur., or *airyâo dathuhâvô* provincie Arianae, Burnouf *Yasna*, 442; and Note P. 70

¶ Burnouf, *Notes*, P. 60

in the (Gr) Anariakai, a people and, town on the frontiers of Hyrcania\* Greek geographers use the name of Ariana in a wider sense even than the Zend-avesta. All the country between the Indian Ocean in the south and the Indus in the east, the Hindu-kush and Paropamisus in the north, the Caspian Gates, Karamania, and the mouth of the Persian Gulf in the west, is included by Strabo (xv 2) under the name of Ariana, and Bactria is thus called† by him "the ornament of the whole of Ariana". As the Zoroastrian religion spread westward, Persia, Elymais and Media all claimed for themselves the Aryan title. Hellenicus, who wrote before Herodotus, knows of Aria as a name of Persia‡ Herodotus (vii 62) attests that the Medians called themselves Aria, and even for Atropatene, the northernmost part of Media, the name of Ariana (not Aria) has been preserved by Stephanus Byzantinus. As to Elymais its name has been derived from *Ailama*, a supposed corruption of *Auyama*§. The Persians, Medians, Bactrians and Sogdians all spoke, as late as the time of Strabo,|| nearly the same language, and we may well understand, therefore, that they should have claimed for themselves one common name, in opposition to the hostile tribes of Turan.

That *Aryan* was used as a title of honour in the Persian empire is clearly shown by the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius. He calls himself *Arya* and *Arya-chakra*, and Aryan and of Aryan descent, and Ahuramazda, or, as he is called by Darius, Auramazda, is rendered in the Turanian translation of the inscription of Behistun, "the God of the Aryans". Many historical names of the Persians contain the same element. The great grandfather of Darius is called in the inscriptions Ariyârâmnâ, the Greek *Arriaramnēs*.

\* Strabo, xi 7, 11 Plin Hist Nat vi 19, Ptol vi 2 De Sacy, Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse, p 48 Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, i 6

† Strabo, xi 11, Burnouf, Notes, p 110 "In another place Eratosthenes is cited as describing the western boundary to be a line separating Parthiène from Media and Karmanîr from Parætikene and Persia, thus taking in Yezd and Kerman, but excluding Fars"—Wilson *Ariana antiqua*, p 120

‡ Hellenicus fragm 166, ed Muller, *Asia Persikè Chora*

§ Joseph Muller, *Journal Asiatique* 1839, p 298 Lassen, loc cit i. 6 From this Elam of Genesis, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i p 623

|| Heeren, *Decen* i, p 337, *omégluttoi pará mikrón* Strabo, p 1054

(Herod. VII. 90). Artabanus (i. e. Evergetes) Artabanus (i. e. Eumenes), Artabardes all show the same origin.

About the same time as these inscriptions, Eudemus a pupil of Aristotle as quoted by Nicolaus Damascenus speaks of "the Magi and the whole Aryan race"† evidently using the Aryan in the same sense in which the Zend avesta, spoke of "the whole country of Aria."

And when after years of foreign invasion and occupation Persia rose again under the sceptre of the Sassanians to be a national kingdom we find the new national kings the worshippers of Mazda, calling themselves in the inscriptions deciphered by De Sacy, "Kings of the Aryan and an Aryan race" in Pehlvi *Irān va Anīrān* in Greek *Arīānon kai Anarīānon*.

The modern name of Irān for Persia still keeps up the memory of this ancient title.

In the name of *Armenia* the same element of *Arva* has been supposed to exist‡ The name of Armenia, however does not occur in Zend and the name *Armenia* which is used for Armenia in the cuneiform inscriptions is of doubtful etymology§ In the language of Armenia, *ari* is used in the widest sense for Aryan or Iranian. It means also brave, and is applied more especially to the Medians¶ The word *arya*, therefore though not contained in the name of Armenia, can be proved to have existed in the Armenian language as a national and honourable name"

The learned orientalist speaks of "the Zoroastrians who migrated

One of the Median classes is called Arizantoi, which may be *arya janta*. Herod. I. 101

† *Mágoi dé kai pān to Arelon génos*.—*Nicolaus Damascenus*, in libro *Peri archōn lūlito*.

‡ De Sacy *Mémoires*, p. 47; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 8

§ Burnouf, *Notes*, 107. Anquetil had no authority for taking the Zend *airyamān* for *Armenia*.

|| Bochart shows (*Phaleg* II. c. 3, col. 90) that the Chaldee paraphrast renders the *Min* of Jeremiah by *Ha Min*, and as the same country is called *Minas* by Nicolaus Damascenus, he infers that the first syllable is the Semitic *Har* a mountain—(see Rawlinson's *Glossary* s. v.)

¶ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 8, *Notes*. *Arak* also is used in Armenian as the name of the Medians and has been referred by Jos. Müller to *Argaka*, as a name of Media. *Journ. As.* 1829, p. 205. If as Quatremère says, *ari* and *anari* are used in Armenian for Medians and Persians, this can only be ascribed to a misunderstanding and must be a phrase of later date



from India to the north west,' which assertion is contrary to all probability and common sense even will never admit it, because we see "The tradition of their exodus and gradual colonization of Eastern Persia are preserved in the first Fargard of the *Vendidad*, where their primitive abode is named *Aryānəm Vaējū*, the source (or native land) of the Arians"

This opinion of the learned Sir C H Rawlinson is universally admitted by the Continental Orientalists† and they acknowledge Hindus migrated from the Eastern Iran into India, this fact we can also prove from the authority of several great Orientalists‡

If the learned orientalist thinks that the Zoroastrians migrated from India, he must prove his own theory from their sacred records or from monumental relics, because there is not a single example or historical account to support Max Muller's opinion, besides there is no ancient trace or remnant to be found in India from the Himalaya to the Vindhya mountains, that the Zoroastrians formerly existed in India, on the contrary I can prove from indisputable monumental records, previous to the time of Christ that such was not the case

Regarding this ancient testimony I would refer the reader to Dr T Hyde's Work in which we see that previous to the time of Zoroaster the symbolical worship of Fire was solemnized on the tops of mountains in Persia, and was open to all Iranian nations. The Persian Prophet Zoroaster ordered the Sacred Fire to be preserved from tempest and rain, and also commanded that it should be enclosed for symbolical purposes§ From the above and several other facts it is quite apparent that the Arians are the most predominant nation of Eastern Iran

\* J R A S G B & I, Vol XI, Part I, p 44

† Burnouf's *Com Sur Le Yaçna*, Tom I, p 326, 460, Note 325, p LXII Pichard's *Natural History of Man*, p 163 Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p 121—122 Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol I, p 88—60—208, N 3, p 209—210 W Ouseley's *Travels in the East*, Vol I, p 423

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol 2 p 49—58 Hayland's *History of the World*, Vol 1 p 306—307 India three thousand years ago, p 17—22 and see p 40 48 of the above

§ *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum* 1760, P 307 and 359, 375 Plüsch's *Niniveh and Persepolis*, P 332

It is unnecessary to discuss this interesting subject in this appendix at greater length, because I have already prepared a vast amount of material for my work on the origin of the Iranian Nation, by which I hope to prove beyond doubt that the Iranians were the ancestors of the human race, and that the Hindus and other Aryan nations are only our younger brothers.

I have the intention to treat on this subject in a separate volume under the following titles —

- 1.) Geographical Position. 2.) Ethnographical Division. 3.) Historical Accounts. 4.) Sacred Records. 5.) Monumental Relics. 6.) Chronological Data, and 7.) The Sure Testimony of Languages.

From the preceding observations it will be obvious to the reader that the Sanskrit has no claim whatsoever on the Zand Avesta, but on the contrary the Sanskrit has borrowed so many words from the Zand Avesta such as the proper names of kings, heroes, provinces, things &c. which have been compared by the Continental Orientalists with the Vedic Sanskrit as below —

ZAND AVESTA.	VEDIC SANSKRIT.
Airyānōm Vəštā.	Arya-Avarta.
Hapta Hindu.	Sapta Sindhu.
Bəhūd	Bahūka.
Vivanghat.	Vivavat.
Yima.	Yama.
Thraētaona.	Thraitano.
Kərəsapa.	Krishva.
Kava Ua.	Kava Ua.
Homa.	Soma.
Mithra.	Mitra.
Vayu.	Varuna.

The comparison of these and so many other words stand in juxtaposition, but the Continental Philologists have not as yet decided whether the Vedas have derived these words from the Zand Avesta or whether the Zand Avesta has derived them from the Vedas.

Rig Veda Samhita 1850 Vol. I., P 141—143, Note A. Max Müller's Essay of Languages of 1855, P 27—29 Note. Journal B B R. A. S. of 1853, Vol. IV., P 216, 241 Ibid, Vol. V P 77 94. Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, Part II., P 289 296 Outlines of the Phil. Unl. Hist Vol. I P 123—125

I think the former theory is the most probable. In the Vedas, Yama, signifies the King of the Dead, and in the Zand Avesta, Yima, means a king, but whether we are to believe the mythical account of the Veda, or the Mythological account of the Zand Avesta, remains to be seen. So much is certain that the Mythological account agrees with historical facts which can be established from historical researches, as well as from the undisputable monumental records. That the renowned Yima was the sole monarch of the vast Empire of Iran, is obvious from the fact of the monumental relics which still exist in Persia by the celebrated name of Takhtê-Jâmeshed, i. e. Throne of Jemshêd.\*

The etymology of this Persian word quite coincides with the Zand Avesta, Yimu Khshaêtu, i. e., Yima the brilliant, and according to the Persian language Jamshed has the same meaning†. It is well known amongst the Persians, Arabians, and Turanians, that this Jamshed was the great founder of Astronomical observations and regulated the solar year, which he fixed at the vernal equinox.‡ This annual festival is performed by the Persians, Arabians and Turanians, to this day, under the name of Jemshedi Nowrôz.

These facts are known in the annals of Persian and Mahomedian Histories, from which the existence of that celebrated Persian monarch is evident. Let the learned Scholars compare the Yama of the Vedas and Puranas, and then decide to whom the credit should be given. Here I beg to quote my learned friend Revd Dr. Murray Mitchell's opinion which has been most minutely discussed. He expresses his valuable opinion as follows —§

“Should this identification of Yama and Yimo be permanently retained, (and, startling as the divergencies become, there is little doubt that the connection traced by Dr Roth is correct,) it is worth while to note that the conception of Yimo in the Zendavesta and later Persian books remains truer to the original idea than that

\* Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol I, P 430 and Note (131) See Haguman's Monumenti Persipolitani e Ferdusis Illustratio Gotting 1801

† Eng Trans of the Dabistan, Vol I, P 31, Note I, and Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol II, P 369

‡ Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol II, P 15, Note (9)

§ J B B R A S, 1853, Vol IV, P 227.

which is presented in the Vedas. Yima, the ruler of a <sup>1</sup> 1000 period the teacher—himself divinely taught—of men the inhabitant of a blessed region or paradise on earth,—this description of ~~first man~~ is singularly like that contained in Genesis, and we seem no indistinct echo of the inspired record. Various questions of ~~chronology~~ immediately suggest themselves as to the age of the avatars, and the purity of the text, before we can base any very true conclusions on this coincidence, but the point is eminently worthy of investigation."

From these circumstances it will be quite evident to the reader how ingeniously the Vedas have changed the actual Historical facts into the Zand Avesta into mythological accounts. If we compare a word of the Zand Avesta and of the Vedas in the same manner it is too lengthy to discuss in this small brochure therefore I shall but take notice of this interesting subject on some future opportunity the meanwhile I refer the reader to the European authorities opinions mostly differ in some points.

In regard to the Zand *Homa* and San writ *Soma* it is interesting to observe how ingeniously the Sanskrit writers have changed the Zand *h* into *s*, like the Armenians changing Zand *s* into *h* which I would refer the intelligent reader to the previous page 8 where I have discussed the words *Hinda* and *Sindhu*.

#### NOTE H, p. 41.

The word *Ārya-āvarta* is designated in the modern Sanskrit dialects, and the Sanskrit scholars have used *Ārya Bhūmi*, *Ārya Brahmā-āvarta*, *Bharatā khund* and *Hindusthan* or *India* for the same sense, but there is no ancient testimony to prove even the Vedas that the term *Ārya-āvarta* is used as the name of *Ārya-āvarta* is merely derived from the truer form of *Āryana*—the pure Arian.

Mr. Carzou, who took a most active part in this discussion, opinion as Mr. Muir says "that India was the original country of Indo-European races from which they issued to conquer occi-

\* J. R. A. S. G. B. & L., 1843, Vol. XL, Pt. I, p. 44, N. 3  
on the Science of Language, p. 224. N

civilize the countries to the north-west, is stated together with some of the arguments by which he supports it”<sup>c</sup>

First of all Mr Curzon ought to have decided whether the Hindus were an autochthonous or a foreign nation, the most learned advocate of the Hindus acknowledges that the Indians are no more than merely Arie-settlers, and that they are not an autochthonous nation

The learned Orientalist stated as follows —†

“At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Aryan tribes migrating across the snow of the Himâlaya southward toward the “Seven Rivers” (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvatî), and ever since India has been called their home”

These opinions are strongly corroborated by Lassen, Benfey, Schlegel, Weber, Roth, Spiegel, Renan, Pictet, Dr Wilson and Muir. The latter Orientalist has ably handled the subject, and at last he expresses his firm conviction as follows —‡

“The point of departure which best satisfies this condition, is in the opinion of the eminent writers whom I have cited, some region of central Asia, lying to the north-west of India. We may therefore place the cradle of the Arians in or near Bactria”

These facts prove at once that the Arie-Hindus and the Arie-Europeans both migrated into India and into Europe from their primitive abode of paradise, the Airyana-Vaêju or Eastern Iran, and we see, this point is not only established from the sacred records of the Zoroastrians, but also from the scientific researches of Comparative Philology. Almost all learned Orientalists have unanimously agreed upon this point, therefore Mr Curzon’s theory requires no refutation §

#### NOTE I, p 47

According to the sacred record of the Vendîdâd and the tradition of the Zoroastrians, the primeval country is Airyanem Vaêju and

\* Muir’s Original Sanskrit Texts, Pt II, Pre p xv

† A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 12

‡ Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Pt II, P 322

§ See Muir’s valuable opinion on this subject in his interesting works, Part II, P 304, 322.

this sacred testimony is strongly supported by the investigations of the learned men of the present time. They all agree in confirming this view viz., that the Aryanem Vaejā is the primitive home of the whole of the Arian nations and that from thence people migrated into the several parts of the World and that they carried with them their languages as well as their religions. In regard to the geographical position of Aryanem Vaejā I beg to quote the valuable authority of Baron Bunsen who says —

**THE JOURNEYS OF THE IRANIANS FROM THE  
NORTH EASTERN PARTS OF ASIA TO INDIA.**

**PART I**

“The Primæval Land (Iran Proper Aryanem Vaejā) And The  
Expulsion from it of the Arians.

The text of the opening of this record, as restored removes all doubt as to the following passage containing the genuine description of the climate of the primæval land, Iran Proper

“There Angro manyus (Ahriman) the deadly created a mighty serpent, and now the work of Deva—ten months of winter are there, two months of summer”

The following passage, which is irreconcilable with the above

“the warm weather lasts seven months,  
and winter five, &c.

was added on by a later editor traces of whose ignorant tampering are discernible throughout. In fact, the passage is omitted in the Huzdresh, or Pehlevi translation—and Lassen in his *Indian Archaeology*<sup>301</sup> has given it as his opinion that it is an interpolation.

The Fathers of the Arians (and consequently our own as we speak the same language) originally therefore, inhabited aboriginal Iran Proper the land of pleasantness, and they only left it in consequence of a convulsion of nature, by which a great alteration in the climate was effected. The expression “Serpent” is obscure. It may possibly mean volcanic eruptions, which can only have played a

subordinate part in the great convulsion, although they made a permanent impression

The country of the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, therefore, is the most eastern and most northern point from which we have to start, as the land of the sources of the Euphrates formed the primeval seat of the Semitic races. Wherever the Indians may have fixed the dwelling-places of their northern ancestors, the UTTARA-KURU we cannot venture to place the primeval seats of the Arians anywhere, but on the slopes of the Belur-Tagh, in the highland of Pamer, between the 40th and 37th degrees of N latitude, and 86th and 90th degrees of longitude. On this western slope of the Belur-Tagh and the Mustagh (the *Tian-shang*, or Celestial Mountain of the Chinese) the *Harð-berezart* (Albordsh) is likewise to be looked for, which is invoked (symbolically) in the Zendavesta, as the principal mountain and the primeval source of the waters. Lassen has remarked (loc. cit.) that at the present day the old indigenous inhabitants of that district, and generally those of Khasgar, Yarkand, Khoten, Turfan, and the adjacent highlands are Tadshiks who speak Persian, and who are all agriculturists. The Turcomans either came after them and settled at a later period, or else they are aborigines whom the Arians found there.

When the climate was altered by some vast disturbance of nature, the Arians emigrated, they did not, however, follow the course of the Oxus, or they would have come in the first instance to Bactria and not to Sogd. Their course, therefore, was more northerly.

As regards its present climate, it is precisely what our record describes it as having been when the change produced by the above commotion took place, it has only two months of warm weather."

The above opinion is not only held by Bunsen but was also expressed by many learned Orientalists such as Professor Burnouf,\* Professor Lassen,† Professor Wilson,‡ Dr Haug, Professor Muller,§ and others

\* Burnouf Commentaire Annotations

† Ind Alt., Vol I, P 526

‡ Anna Antique, P 122, 129

§ Lectures on the Science of Language, P 226

## NOTE J p. 51

In the Sacred Scriptures of the Zoroastrians, Ormuzd is said to have created the fifteenth country Hapta Hendu i. e. "Seven Indus" which is most correctly interpreted in the Brahmanical Vedas, Sapta Sindhuvas,† the seven rivers the Indus the five rivers of the Panjab, and the Sarasvati and ever since these have been the abode of the first Ario-Settlers. From these evidences it is quite apparent that Sapta Sindhuvas or Panjkora, is not the birth place of the Hindus but on the contrary is distinctly pointed out as a foreign soil to the Arian India.

The above seven rivers with others are invoked in the Vedas and no mention is made that the Hindus are the autochthonous nation of India proper therefore I think it is unjust to compare Hapta Hendu and Sapta Sindhuvas in their strict sense with India Proper because the seven rivers were only the primitive home of the Arian Hindu settlers.

These opinions are firmly established by mythological as well as Historical accounts by several eminent Orientalists such as Professor O. Lassen, Professor Müller Professor H. H. Wilson, Baron Bunsen, Dr. Wilson and Mr. J. Muir.

It is desirable here to quote Baron Bunsen's authority.‡

"14. The Settlement in Hapta Hendu (Panjab) (XV vers 19) The land of the seven Hindus, that is, the country between the Indus and Sutledj. In the Vedas the country of the Five Rivers is also called the Land of the seven Sindhus, that is, the seven Rivers. The traditional Greek names also are seven. The Indus and the Sutledj are each formed by the junction of two arms,

Egypt's Place in Universal History Vol. III. P. 490. Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Panten von Dr. F. Spiegel Vol. I., P. 68. Heeren's Historical Researches Vol. II. P. 516.

† Wilson's Rig Veda, Vol. I., P. 88; Dr. Wilson's India Three Thousand Years Ago, P. 21, 27.

‡ Egypt's Place in Universal History Vol. III., P. 465-466.

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According to this view it stands thus

1. Kopan (Kubhā)	}	I. Indus.
2. Indus, Upper		
3. Hydaspes (Bidaspes)		II. Hydaspes.
4. Akesmes (Askini)		III. Akesmes
5. Hyarotis (Hydraotis, Iravati Parusni)		IV. Hydraotes.
6. Hyphans (V. parsa.)		
7. Saranges (Upper Satadru—Sutledj Ghara)		Hyphans



which in their earlier course were independant rivers But it is not only unnecessary to suppose, as Ritter does, that the country extended as far as the Sarasvati, but such a supposition would be at variance with History It is now ascertained from the Vedas that the Arians passed the Sutledj at a very late period and settled in what is now India

"It was not till their fourteenth Settlement, after the emigration from the primitive country in the North, that they passed the Hindu-kush and the Indus. The previous resting-places form an unbroken chain of the primitive above of the Arians (the Free or the Land-owners) <sup>204</sup> The last link in those earlier settlements is the land of the Afghans, on the western slope of the Hindhu-Kush. Lower down to the westward there is but one settlement necessary to secure their previous possessions, namely, the two districts of Ghilan and Masandaran, with the passes of the Caspian This settlement more to the North-West (Ghilan and Masandaran) forms therefore also a connected group"

#### NOTE K, p 59.

The true epoch of Zoroaster, I believe to be the fourth century B C, from the following super-natural evidences of the Eastern and Western writers which most strongly coincide with each other

From the authority of Zarthosht-Nama it is said in Dabistan \*

"Zaradusht, on issuing forth into the abode of existence laughed aloud at the moment of his birth."

The Eastern testimony is most naturally coincided in by Pliny and Solinus in the following words †

"We find it stated that Zoroaster was the only human being who ever laughed on the same day on which he was born We

<sup>204</sup> Arya, in Indian means Lord Its original meaning was equivalent to Upper Noble The popular name Arja is derived from it, and means, "Descended from a Noble" I will only add that Ari in Egyptian means "honourable" (in Nefruari) But ar might mean to plough, for the Arians were originally and essentially an agricultural, and therefore a peasant, race

\* Dabistan or School of Manners Eng Trans Vol I, P 218, N I

† Pliny's Natural History, Eng Trans of 1855, Vol. II, P 155

hear, too that his brain pulsed so strongly that it repelled the hand when laid upon it, a presage of his future wisdom.

From these Eastern and Western testimonies there is not the slightest doubt that the Zoroaster spoken of, is no one than the well known Prophet of the Perso Medo Backtrian Nations because the identity of Zoroaster is quite evident.

The learned Orientalist Mulla Feroz and Dastur Aspendyârjt Kamdinji of Broach place the era of Zoroaster to the fourth century B. C. from oriental authorities which are most strongly supported by the Occidental testimonies of Greek writers. I shall here quote several of them.

"The most ancient mention of the name of Zoroaster in Greek books is to be found in the works of Plato, and dates therefore from the fourth century before our era."\*

Sir W Ouseley mentions in his valuable work from the authority of Agathias as follows.†

"The prophet, however or legislator whose name we find written in Persian books, Zardehusht, or Zaratusht, is manifestly that Zoroaster whom the Greek historian Agathias calls *Zoroastros*, or *Zarades*, and justly assigns to the age of King Hystaspes, preceding Christ by about five hundred years." (21)

Mr D Shea writes in the following words.‡

Diogenes, cited by Porphyry says that Pythagoras, (about 5 cent. B. C.) when in Babylon was instructed by Zabratus. (Zoroaster)

Mr J Conder speaks from the same Greek authority §

"The Greeks hold the name of Zoroaster in high esteem. Pythagoras is said to have been his scholar.

Mr A. Troyer positively mentions.||

"In the fourth century B. C. Plato, Aristotle, and Theopompus show a knowledge of Zoroaster's works."

Eng Trans. Dabistan, Vol. I. P 211 N 1

† Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol. I, P 113

(21) Zoroâstrou—ontos de o Zoroastros etos Zarâdes. Agath Lib I. p 58 Lug Bat. 1694.

‡ Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia, P 277 Eng Transl. by David Shea.

§ A popular description of Persia and China, Vol. I, P 60

|| Eng Trans Dabistan, Vol. I., P 224.

Further we see the learned Orientalist state from the authorities of St Clement of Alexandria and Jamblicus as follows \*

"In the Desâtir (English translat, P 120) the Greek philosopher is called *Tâtianush*. We are at a loss even to guess at the Greek to whom these names may be applied. We may, however, remember that St Clement of Alexandria places Pythagoras about the 62nd Olympiad, or about 528 years B C, and says that he was a zealous follower of Zoroaster, and had consulted the Magi. Jamblicus, in his life of Pythagoras (cap 4,) states, that this philosopher was taken prisoner by Cambyses and carried to Babylon, where, in his intercourse with the Magi, he was instructed in their modes of worship, perhaps by Zoroaster himself, if Zabratus and Nazaratus, mentioned as his instructors by Diogenes and Alexander, can be identified with the Persian prophet."

As an easy reference to the reader I beg to quote again the valuable opinion of the most learned Sir C H Rawlinson †

"But notices of the fourth and fifth century B C are certainly deserving of consideration"

From the above observations it is most firmly established that Zoroaster existed in the fourth century B C, from the synchronical confirmation of the Orientalists and Occidentalists as a Prima Facie evidence. Further we see the Greek and Roman authors place Zoroaster in the reign of Darius Hystaspas, which agrees with the Vistaspa of the Zand Avesta. I beg to refer the reader to the following pages Note L, where I intend to show distinctly that Vistaspa was the Royal Patron of Zoroaster \*

#### NOTE L, p 60

A most impertinent question is often asked by modern critics : in whose reign the Perso-Bactrian Prophet Zoroaster existed ? This question we can easily answer from the undermentioned authorities

From the oral and written testimonies it appears that the Prophet Zoroaster existed in the time of the Bactrian King Vistaspa or

\* Eng Trans Dabistan, Vol I, P 277

† J R A S G B & I, Vol x Pt I, P 42, No 1

Vistaspa, and this tradition we can prove not only from the sacred records but also from foreign authorities as well as from the undisputable monumental records.

In the Sacred Scriptures of the Zoroastrians it is positively mentioned thus, in the ancient hymns or Gâthas it is recorded that Vistaspa was the friend as well as a promoter of Zoroaster's religion, and the Prophet Zoroaster himself acknowledges that Vistaspa was his faithful friend. Here I beg to quote the original passage with its translation by Dr Haug which after comparing with Dr Spiegel's I find to differ slightly from each other in their respective translations, but they do not differ much in the sense of the original passage.

Dr Haug translates the original passage from Gâthâ Uçtaraiti as follows —

"13. Who venerates the very holy Zarathustra with diligence among men, he is fit to proclaim his doctrine publicly. To him (to Zarathustra) the living sage owes a sacred life, for him he hedge-in with good sense the country properties. him we consider true one, as a good friend.

14. Zarathustra! who is thy veritable friend at the great work! or who will publicly proclaim it! Precisely Kavrâ Vîçtaçpa will do that. Whom thou, living sage! hast selected in the (heavenly) assembly those will I venerate with the words of the good sense."

Besides these there are several other examples in the Zand Avesta to prove that Zoroaster was not only a contemporary of Vistaspa, but vice versa, that Vistaspa or Vistaspa was one of the most faithful and zealous proselytes and we see it is already mentioned in the Vistaspa Nosh that Zoroaster offered the blessing to the son of his Royal follower and proselytized him into the Mazdaian religion to worship one supreme being. It is very much to be regretted that the name Darius of the Monumental record is not to be found at present in the Zand Avesta, but still I hope, if time will permit me, to find it out from the Zand Avesta.

Further we see the foreign authorities place the time of Zoroaster

Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Die Gâthas des Zarathustra von Dr. Martin Haug. Leipzig 1860 II. Band, No 2, P. 48. Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen, Aus Dem Grundtext des Urmâhats, Mit steter Rücksicht auf die Tradition von Dr. F. Spiegel, Leipzig 1859 Zweiter Band. I. 154—155 § 13—14.

into the reign of Darius Hystaspas or Vistaspa which is synchronically confirmed by the Zand Avesta

Again the Greek author Agathias places the time of Zoroaster into the reign of Vistaspa or Hystaspas\* in confirmation to the authority of the Zand Avesta.

The most distinguished Orientalist, Sir C H Rawlinson, after consulting the Greek and Roman authorities, speaks as follows †

"3 Arnobius, it must be observed, where he quotes the first book of Ctésias, which, as we learn from Photius, treated exclusively of the Assyrian "origines," expressly terms Zoroaster a Bactrian, and it is almost certain, therefore that the passage quoted in the text, which commences "ut inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus," must also be drawn from the same source I mention this, as Ctésias has often been cited as an authority for placing Zoroaster under Darius Hystaspes I shall have occasion to refer to the famous Zoroastrian passage of Arnobius in another place In the first book of Stanley's Chaldee Philosophy, the subject of Zoroaster is treated with all the learning that belonged to the age in which it was written "

"1. The remarkable notices of Agathias and Ammianus with regard to Zoroaster exemplify the difficulty that well-instructed men experienced in reconciling the hybrid traditions of the Persians of the Sassanian age with authentic Greek history Agathias in the first place mentions the double name of Zoroaster and Zarades (the latter name being probably the same as *Ziru ishtar*, inasmuch as Hesychius explains, 'Ada to be the Babylonian Hera,' and he then goes on to express his doubts if the Hystaspes whom the Persians maintained to have been contemporary with the Oromazdian Zoroaster, could possibly be identical with the father of Darius, Ammianus, as I understand him, does not attempt to identify the two periods, though he gives the exact Persian description of the divine inspiration of the Zendavesta (a description, too, which is given in greater detail by Dion Chrysostom) Ammianus places the Bactrian Zoroaster, who introduced the occult Chaldean sciences, "seculis priscais," while he takes it for granted that the Hystaspes contemporary with the

\* Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol I, P 112

† J R A S G B & I, Vol xi, P 228, N 3, P 254, N 1

Zoroaster of the Zend avesta, was the father of Darius. See Agath, (Dind) p, 117 Ammian Marcellin lib. xxiii., and Dio Chrysostom, Orat. Borieth "

The ancient author Ammianus Marcellinus most positively mentions in his work that Zoroaster the Bactrian was a contemporary of King Hystaspes the father of Darius.\*

According to the recent investigations of continental Orientalists, it is decided that the universal opinion, promulgated by many ancient authorities that the Great Bactrian Prophet Zoroaster flourished, in the reign of Vistaspa or Hystaspes, is the most authentic, and the strongest arm of infidelity was subsequently broken down by the folk-lore of Zoroaster. These facts are mentioned in the annals of ancient history and many modern investigators unanimously agreed on this point that Zoroaster existed in the time of Vistaspa or Hystaspes.†

#### NOTE M p. 64

In the first and second part of Yagna, the languages differ very slightly from each other therefore my learned friends Drs. Spiegel and Mitchell, both divide Yagna into two parts in the order of their antiquity but we have no substantial ground for doing so then again they say that the Zend Avesta was not composed by Zoroaster himself but this opinion does not support the general argument, because difference of languages is generally held to be of no great avail in the proofs adduced for the authorship of the Yagna by Zoroaster. In fact, in our own times we see that even the most common Gujrati used both by the Hindus and Parsis, is vastly different from each other and find there are even slightest differences in the Gujrati language as spoken amongst the Parsis of Bombay Surat, Broach and Nowari, and the same appears to be the

A h ng Zum Zend Avesta, Von J. F. Kleuker 1783 P 131 and Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia, P 275—276

† Hyde, de Relig. Veter. Persar. Pages 303, 312, 335; Zendavesta of Kleuker app. L. etc. P 327; Heeren's Historical Researches, Vol. I. P 237; An Epitome of the History of the World, by J. Hayland, Vol. II P 169 P 341; Penny Cyclopaedia, Vol. xxvii P 817; Oxford Chronological Tables of History, P 7; English Translation Dabistan, Vol. I, P 213 Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol. I 1 113; Asiatic Researches, Vol. II P 33

case, for instance, when the Icelandic and Gothic, Polish and Russian languages are compared, and which in the same manner belong to distinct branches of the same classes, but the Iranian tongues are of an age many centuries earlier,\* and consequently after the downfall of the Karian dynasty and in the time of Sassanian Kings, the Zand Avesta may have been re-written from oral repetitions or written records by the followers of Zoroaster, so this circumstance should not lead us to the conclusion that Zoroaster was not the author of the Zand Avesta, Orientalists are almost universally of opinion that Zoroaster was the author of Hagiographic books, and further again the learned Dr Mitchell contends that this cannot be (the case) since he is named in the third person† I have, however, already refuted the very objection in the foregoing pages‡ And I think my learned friend must have committed a mistake of oversight, in the Zand Avesta, otherwise he would never have expressed such a strange opinion, the learned Orientalist few years ago translated, from the German, French and Guzerati languages, the nineteenth Fargard of the Vendidad in which Zoroaster's name is used in the sense of the first person, here I beg to quote the authority from the pen of my learned friend who has translated the original passages from three different languages §

"16 Zoroaster addressed Agra Mafinyus Malevolent Agra Mainyus !

"17 I will slay the creation which has been made by the Daevas, I will slay the Naçus whom the Daevas have made,

"18 I will slay the Paris to whom they pray (?) until Caoshyang [viz the useful] shall be born, the victorious, out of the water Kançaoya."

Besides this, we find throughout the whole of the Zand Avesta, Zoroaster's name used in several places in the sense of first person and particularly in the most ancient portion of the Gâthâs, it is mentioned in the following words

"I am Zarathustra, I shall show myself as a destroyer to the wicked, and a comforter to the good" ||

\* Professor Westergaard's Zend Avesta, Vol I, P 16, N 1

† J B B R. A S Vol IV, P 232—233

‡ Vide, P 64—67 of the above

§ J B B R. A S Vol II, P 236

|| Dr Haug's Lecture on the origin of the Parsee Religion, P 8

This point is clearly proved from the Zand Avesta but the second question asked by my friend is as follows —

“Indeed everything intimates that neither he nor his disciple Gustasp was alive.”\*

Concerning this point my friend has entirely overlooked not only the sacred authority of the Zand Avesta, but also the foreign authorities of the ancient Greek, Latin and Roman writers. On this important point I have already discussed in previous note marked L, where I have, I trust, most satisfactorily proved from the Zand Avesta, as well as from the ancient and modern oriental authorities that Zoroaster lived in the time of Gustasp or Vistasp. I do not therefore think it necessary to expostulate on the subject again, but beg to refer both of my learned friends to the above note L, where I have pointed out from the ancient hymns of the Gāthās that Kara Vistasp was not only a friend of Zoroaster but a most zealous disciple of that Prophet, and one who proclaimed the divine doctrines publicly into the vast empire of Iran.

#### NOTE N p. 75.

The Pehlvi language has derived its name from the country Pehlū and its inhabitants are called Pehlvan, i. e. warriors, who are called in the Sanskrit language Pahanvas or Pahlavā†. From a most minute investigation it appears to me that in ancient times Pehlvi was divided into two parts, the one was called Huzvarash, or the proper Pehlvi, and the other the common Pehlvi one must be used as literary, and the other as Demotic in the vast empire of Iran. We see the latter is still a spoken language in several provinces of Iran or Persia.

The learned Mr Troyer says,‡ “The Pehlvi was used in Media Proper in the towns of Rai Hamadan Isfahan, Nahawend and Tabriz, the capital of Azarbijan.

Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. iv P 233.

† The Vishnu Purans English Translation by Professor H. H. Wilson of 1840 P 189, 61 and P 193 N 158 and J. B. R. A. S. Vol. v P 42.

‡ English Translation Dabistan, Vol. I Pre. Dis, 1 xlyl.



Professor Pott, after consulting with Ritter and Rawlinson, speaks as follows :

"Minotscheli (from heavenly seed) which would also be admissible in spite of a few phonetic difficulties (e.g. that the *a* is there before) Against the view, however, in which *Quatremere* concurred with me, as if the Huzvarash or the so called Pehlvi could have been the language of the *Parthians*, at least the circumstance of there *not existing any slytic element* in Huzvarash, vividly militates. Spiegel *Gramm*, P. 159. As probable roots of the Parthian, is a spoken language see Ritter, *Arien*, vi 2, 217, vi 1, 624. Nevertheless Rawlinson *Journal of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.* ix I 109, observes this with assurance of the place Dizmar in the N. of Tabriz. *Leben Ztschr* vi 514. If the case be not a similar one to the supposed Zend on the Caspian Sea by Chodzko *Spec. of Pers. Poetry*. Also in the small town of Nium which was yet till lately inhabited by Guebbers, there is still a peculiar antiquated dialect in use. *D. M. Z.* vii 716."

From the above positive assertion of the above named eminent Orientalists, we can safely confirm this view, that the Pehlvi language must be the current language in the time of Achemenian Kings or even prior to that period, as far as we see in the Pehlvi language the proper names of Kings, Provinces, things etc., bear most strongly evidences of their primitive existence, and therefore I may safely consider that the Huzvarash is the Hagiographic language and the Pehlvi is the Demotic or a popular language of the Arian Nations.

## NOTE

### The Pehlvi Inscription of Hajî-Abâd

Mr Sorâbjî Shâpurjî states in his work, from the authority of Dr Spiegel, "that the decipherment, of one of the Pehlvi Inscriptions, which was made both by Dastur Peshutanjî Byramjî and Dhumibhâi Framjî in 1853 in Bombay, was believed to be imperfect, and consequently Dr Spiegel placed no reliance on the faithfulness of its

\* *Zeit. Dent. Morg. Ges.* 1859, *Dritzelhuter Band* P. 415

translation and that further he entertained doubts on the ground that some of the Pehlvi characters bear three or four different orthographical values."

To the above mentioned objection of Dr Spiegel Mr Sorabji has replied, that for the authenticity of the decipherment both the above named gentlemen are not in any way responsible because they solely depended, for the transcription of the original characters on the authority of Mr E. Thomas Alphabetical Table printed in the J. L. A. S. G. B. & I. \*

Before taking any notice of Dr Spiegel's remark, it is incumbent upon me to know, how and in what manner Dr Spiegel obtained possession of the copy of the Pehlvi Inscription I have deciphered, however if we admit for the sake of expostulation, that Dr Spiegel had the opportunity of perusing my copy it is then my duty to reply to Dr. Spiegel's remark.

Perhaps the learned Orientalist may be under the impression that the Pehlvi characters of the inscription cannot bear three or four different orthographical values. I think my learned friend must have overlooked this fact because some of the Pehlvi words in the inscription compel us to adopt this rule, as interchangeable values not only in different words, but at the same time in each word. We find the letters v, w, or r according to the general rules of the ancient Persian and Pehlvi languages and also v and y are often interchangeable in their orthographical value.

In regard to this monumental record, I have several examples to lay before my readers. The following words distinctly point out their interchangeable values, viz., Tagrâhi or Tahrâhi Shâpurî Airan va, Manu Chatrî, Bari, or Bai and Hult†

These few words are *Prima Facie* evidence, and are quite sufficient to refute Dr. Spiegel's remark as we are forced in each word to decipher the original character in two different ways.

Mr. Sorabji Shâpurji, in reply to Dr Spiegel's objection said, that

Essay on the antiquity of the Zoroastrian's Hagiographical works and their language, by Sorabji Shâpurji, Second Edition, published at the expense of Sir James J. J. J. Baronet, in 1853, 1 63—66. Note

† Vide p. 86 of the above, Pehlvi Inscription with Italian transcription and verbal translation.

both Dastur Peshutunjî and Dhunjibhâi are not to be blamed because they both relied upon the authority of Mr E Thomas

Dastur Peshutunjî is responsible for his own decipherment, and able to defend himself, my friend, Mr Sorabji is mistaken in supposing that my decipherment was taken from Mr E Thomas's Alphabetical Table, because Mr E Thomas's table was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in the year 1850-52,\* while previous to that, in 1848 and 1849, I deciphered the Pehlvi Inscription of Hajî-Abâd and others, with a view to ascertain the true orthographical value of the Pehlvi Alphabets according to their different forms, a g, Pehlvi Lapidary cursive and Numismatic to assist Pehlvi scholars

I brought this fact to the notice of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1851, at the time of my laying before them the specimen of my Zand Dictionary This fact is already recorded in the proceedings of the Society and also in the Prospectus of my Zand Dictionary as follows —†

Part 6th The Pehlvi Alphabets, published with observations on the Lapidary, Cursive, and Numismatic, according to their different forms of their alphabets, to assist Pehlvi scholars to decipher any of the Pehlvi writings, tablets, manuscripts, and coins

In deciphering the Pehlvi Inscription of Hajî-Abâd and other Tablets, I am indebted to Mon De Sacy's, Sir W Ouseley's, and Sir J Malcolm's Works, and also to the Journals of the Royal Asiatic, and German Oriental and Journal Asiatique Societies.

Some of the characters were not deciphered, first, by the Continental Paleographers, these I have deciphered to the best of my ability

## Pehlvi Inscription at Kanhêrî Cavés near Vêhâi in Salsette

I am most thankful to my learned friend Dr Bhâu Dâji, who first brought to my notice the fact of a Pehlvi Inscription having been

\* J R A S G B & I, Vol II, Pt 2, P 253—347 Ibid, Vol III, Pt 2, P 373—428

† J B B R A S; Vol IV, p 155,—56

found in the Kanbêri Cavo at Salsette near the village of Vêhâr, and a copy of this Inscription was forwarded to me by my learned friend, Mr. E. Rehatsch, and after perusing the same it was most interesting to observe that the forms of Pehlvi characters were not similar to those of Sassanian Lapidary Pehlvi, but on the contrary I found the characters to be cursive, and they quite agree in their forms with the exception of a very few letters to the Pehlvi Mss's copy

It is to be regretted that owing to the very decayed state of the Tablet, I have not been enabled to decipher the whole of the Inscription as I intended to have done most of the words are intelligible and the rest are so imperfect in their forms that we can hardly make them out, unless we pay a personal visit to the spot or find out a Fac-simile of the same. In conclusion I must return my best thanks to Mr. E. Rehatsch for sending me a copy of this Inscription.

A very short Pehlvi Inscription, lately published in the Society's Journal is considered by E. W. West, Esq., to be in the Arabic character but it is quite evident that the Inscription is in the Pehlvi language. Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. vi. P. 120 P. III. N. 31.

From this monumental record, it is quite evident that the Pehlvi language was introduced into India prior to the time of the Zoroastrian emigration from Persia.



## ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	FOR	ERRAT
2	1	Augustil	Augustil
4	16	a her ic	an h i c
5	1	Pau anlus	l u an a
5	25	Sp-rl	bj rl
11	0	ca-ic	ca i t
11	0	Atiquatli	Antiquat
11	20	rotuchun t r	V m i t r
11	1	alt r	alt n
11	1	trout	trout
11	26	Li l	d Hainagan
11	29	Man nlande	Man nlan
11	32	Rowlin n	Rowlin n
12	30	comparative	comparative
12	31	The pumpa	The pumpa
13	14	call d	call d
13	25	Call d	called
14	25	mark d	awakened
15	3	alilica	alilica
16	53	w rk	w rk
19	2	chodls	chodls
21	10	Arminian	Arminian
21	18	I lect	I lect
21	19	Plato-Aristotle	Plato and Aristotle
21	31	Pausanias	Ion at las
21	33	vond r	von der
25	20	of Inlon	of Inlon
25	25		
25	25	Arian	Arian
27	11	Dikhvanden	Dikhvanden
27	20	Hakmalua	Hakmalua
27	1	nonn	verb
29	20	Alura mazda	Alural o mazda
31	1	loca	ll
31	15	Ho goz	Ho goz
31	31	li qui rora	li quiron
36	15	Bernouf	Bernouf
36	18	whor	whor
53	6	synthle	synthle
54	17	Zantu	Zantu
62	12	Pausanias	Pausanias

PAGE	LINE,	FOR	READ
64	20	Speigel	} Spiegel
64	23	Speigel	
65	16	Speigel	
65	29	Speigel	
70	22	Chaldians	Chaldeans
74	20	an	the
75	11	Esqer	Esq
78	9	Phlv	Pehlvi
83	26	interpreted	interpreted
87	1	EGNLISH	ENGLISH
90	23	Mongenlandischen	Morgenlandischen
93	16	olshausen	olshausen
104	20	repetition.	repetition
108	33	Neunten.	Neunter
116	15	Ehsus	Elisous
116	30	Transaction	Transactions
116	33	Der Parser	der Parsen
121	18	١٥٢	١٥٢
121	28	Brockhus	Brockhaus
138	9	Estern	Eastern
139	12	preceeding	pieceeding
140	20	Mahomedian	Mahomedan
145	3	fifte enth	fifteenth
147	8	to	into
149	17	hedge-	hedged
149	26	of the	of his.
150	21	well instructed	wellinstructed
150	34	Chaldian	Chaldean
151	27	slightest	slight
153	32	Vishnu Purans	Vishnu Purāna





Between the historical developement of the metre and the individual taste of the poets no sharp line of distinction can be drawn the history of the Vedic periods is in the last analysis the history of the hymn-writers who belong to each of them. But for practical purposes individual taste is characterized by comparatively abrupt variation. If particular features are found in one group of hymns for which we are not prepared by the groups which just precede it in time, and of which hardly any trace is left in groups that appear immediately to succeed it, it is a natural explanation that these variations represent the bias of a single poet, or perhaps of a small group of poets intimately associated in their work. This individuality has often been recognized in the subject-matter and general treatment of the seventh Mandala, with the result that the family name Vasistha, alone amongst those of the ancient seers of Indian tradition, suggests to many Western critics also a striking personality. It will appear that the metre of this collection lends some support to this view.

Variations on a small scale may be ascribed to chance, that is to say, to causes which are not directly connected with the sense of rhythm. In a large body of verse such chance variations will take place in every possible direction, and therefore they will have no perceptible effect upon the rhythm as expressed in averages. Chance, though it laughs at all other laws, is always subject to its own law, which compels it to neutralize or destroy its own creations and this principle is just as clearly indicated in the rhythm of Vedic hymns as at the gaming tables of Monte Carlo. If a ball is thrown at hap-hazard on a table on which exactly half of the compartments are red and half are black, then in 1000 consecutive throws the ball *must* fall very nearly 500 times into a red compartment. If a Vedic poet is really indifferent to the quantity of a particular syllable, then in 1000 of his verses the syllable is sure to be short in just about 500. Conversely if there is a decided balance in favour of the long or the short quantity, there must be a metrical motive somewhere at work.

As however the number of chances is decreased, this certainty is diminished. In a short Vedic hymn, for instance, containing some 20 verses it is not impossible that the initial syllable should be twice as often long as short. Such cases however will not

often be found and any theory that might be built upon them would soon be abandoned as the result of further enquiry. In the present chapter (as indeed in those that have preceded it) we shall find it from time to time necessary to deal with small quantities of matter in which the variations that occur may quite possibly be due to chance. But the uncertainties of the particular case do not produce a like uncertainty in the general conclusions to which we are led. If the survey of the facts be on the whole sufficiently wide, the errors in detail must necessarily be relatively unimportant.

The habit of ascribing the metrical variations of the Rigveda to chance is the necessary result of imperfect familiarity with the details. The critic of metre who has convinced himself that chance is a totally inadequate explanation of the facts presented to him will feel bound to look for some other cause or causes. And since the phonetic structure of the Vedic dialect is obviously pliable in the extreme to the hand of the poet, he will necessarily fall back upon the conclusion that the variations which occur are due to changes of metrical taste and whether these changes are conscious or unconscious the product of the time or of the individual, they belong in a broad sense to the region of historical investigation.

204. The general structure of trimeter verse has already been explained in §§ 18-35 42-56 its distribution amongst the homogeneous groups is shown in § 114. As with dimeter verse in § 183 so now we begin a more minute study of trimeter verse by a general sketch of its most important features, and by giving in figures a precise measurement of the part filled by each in a series of groups, corresponding generally to the homogeneous groups of § 91 but so selected as to represent those parts of the Rigveda of which the homogeneous character is most assured.

The questions to be investigated fall naturally under the following headings (i) the caesura, (ii) the rhythm of the verse (iii) the break, or rhythm of the fifth sixth and seventh feet (iv) the cadence, and (v) variations in the number of syllables so far as they are not included under the preceding

investigated are the following in the archaic hymns and (ii) the Tristubh hymns of

Bharadvāja (Mandala vi), in the strophic period (iii) the Tristubh hymns of Vasistha (Mandala vii), in the normal period (iv) the hymns of Vāmadeva (Mandala iv), and (v) those of Kuśika (Mandala iii), in each of which groups the Tristubh metre prevails, but a few Jagatī hymns are also found, and in the cretic period the hymns, almost equally divided between Tristubh and Jagatī metre, (vi) of Kutsa (i 94-115), and (vii) of the small groups of hymns extending from x 29 to x 80. In the eighth and last group are included all the hymns of the popular Rigveda.

The statistical results for these eight groups are given in the Table in § 212, and are the basis of the discussion in the sections that now follow.

(i) Although the general type of trimeter verse is on the whole the same throughout the Rigveda, it is necessary to exclude wholly or partly from consideration here certain hymns which have a very distinctive character.

Many verses which are treated by the native authorities as of the trimeter type have already been analyzed as consisting of dimeter verses with verses of four (or three) syllables attached. This is particularly the case in the metre to which the name of 'Dimeter Usmh' (§ 192) has been given in this book. Verses of this type are entirely excluded from consideration here.

Hymns in the 'uneven lyric metres' (§ 27) form a special class so far as the number of syllables in the cadence is concerned. Other variations which they contain are included in this chapter.

Hymns which contain 'decasyllabic variations' (§§ 49-53) in any large proportion fall into two classes, which it now becomes important to distinguish.

The first class consists of hymns in which different decasyllabic variations are found, in proportions varying from one verse in ten to one verse in five. These we now name as a class *hymns in decasyllabic Tristubh metre*, though in fact two or three of them are in Jagatī metre, and in these the verses which contain 'rests' are of eleven syllables. These hymns are treated separately so far as the decasyllabic variations are concerned, but other variations are included indifferently throughout the chapter. The list of these hymns is given in § 94 in a second class consists of hymns in each of which some decasyllabic variation is predominant, although some of them contain many verses in Jagatī metre. Conversely if Jagatī is predominant, although some of them contain many verses in Tristubh metre. These we now name *hymns in decasyllabic metres*, or the short quæ qualification as in the last section. Variations of all kinds occurring in these hymns are given in the lists in this chapter in brackets or in special subsections, but are entirely excluded from consideration in the tables. The hymns here referred to are i 61, 65-70, ii 44 7-9, vii 34 1-21, 56 1-11, ix 109, x 1, 6, 46, 77 some 20 verses in iii b c d).

As however the number of variations which occur in the uneven lyric hymns and in the tables is diminished, the number of variations which occur in the uneven lyric hymns and in the tables is diminished, the number of variations which occur in the uneven lyric hymns and in the tables is diminished.

decasyllabic hymns of the two classes will therefore be discussed in this chapter primarily from the standpoint of their occurrence as occasional variations in other hymns. The hymns in decasyllabic Triṣṭubh will also be considered in this chapter as a special class but the consideration of the hymns in uneven lyric metres and in decasyllabic metres, so far as their respective characteristic features are concerned, will be postponed to the next chapter.

(1) The complete investigation of trimeter rhythm involves the tabulation of the quantity of almost every syllable in the trimeter verses of the Rigveda, in connexion with the position of the caesura in each case. In the following points only it has seemed sufficient to take samples of the rhythm (a) for the initial syllable (b) for the regular forms of the opening (§ 215) (c) for the occurrences of a natural pause after the eighth syllable. As in dimeter verse, we have no means of determining with completeness the quantity of final syllables, but feel justified in assuming that it is metrically indifferent.

Where samples only have been taken of the quantity in any particular position, it has seemed desirable to examine not less than 500 verses in each case.

205 The *caesura* is the dominant feature of trimeter verse and its position decisively affects the rhythm both of the opening and of the break. The caesura is a natural pause corresponding to the taking of the breath in recitation and occurs regularly in all parts of the Rigveda either as an *early caesura* that is, a pause after the fourth syllable, or as a *late caesura* that is, a pause after the fifth syllable (§ 43). Verses of these two types are everywhere combined in the same stanza.

The position of the caesura is in itself indifferent in all parts of the Rigveda but indirectly one or the other position may be slightly favoured on account of some rhythm of the break which depends upon it. Thus in the Vasiṣṭha hymns the caesura is more often late on account of the favour shewn to the break  $\sim \sim \sim$  in connexion with secondary caesura (see below) and in the Viśvāmitra hymns and the later periods the caesura is more often early on account of the favour shewn to the cretic break  $\sim \sim \sim$  (§ 207).

In a few cases, chiefly in the archaic period or in the Rigveda, there is some difficulty in determining the  $\sim$  the third the caesura. In decasyllabic and hybrid verses the proportions are a well marked caesura, but it is not easy to say where the break (except whether it should be considered early or late) is further considered in §§ 225-230. Elsewhere we find the break only a weak caesura, namely either (1) a caesura dividing the verse it is very

of a compound, or (ii) a caesura following the third syllable. Both forms of the weak caesura are characteristic of the archaic period, and are further considered in § 214.

Chiefly in the Vasistha hymns we find a variation which we may term the *secondary caesura*, being an approximation of the first eight syllables of trimeter verse to the dimeter type.

The existence of the 'secondary caesura' in the Vasistha hymns may be inferred from the following considerations.

(i) In all other parts of the R̥gveda a pause is found after the 8th syllable in about 35 per cent of the verses, which is just the proportion that might be expected if no special rhythm were aimed at. But in the Vasistha hymns this pause occurs in no less than 57 per cent of the verses.

(ii) Certain other variations of rhythm, namely the caesura after the third place, and the breaks  $\parallel \cup - \cup$ ,  $\cup \parallel - \cup$ , and  $- \parallel - \cup$  are found very much more frequently when there is a pause after the eighth syllable than elsewhere.

The verses in the Vasistha group which combine one of the features last mentioned with a pause after the eighth syllable amount to about one-sixth of all the verses in these hymns, and roughly account for the higher proportion of each of the separate variations in these hymns. It therefore appears that it is the combination of the pause with some other feature which characterizes this collection, and in the Table in § 212 the instances in which the combination occurs are considered separately.

(1) The caesura is usually a pause in the sense as well as in the sound. It is not however absolutely necessary that this should be so, and we find numerous examples in the R̥gveda in which the caesura separates either (a) the two parts of a *dvandva* dual, or (b) an accented word from an enclitic which follows it, or (c) the negative particle or the augment *a-*, when combined by Sandhi with a word preceding, from the remainder of the word to which either of them belongs. As these occurrences seem to have no historical importance, it will be conversely to give a few examples here, namely

or the short	<i>ṣmā indrā</i> $\parallel$ <i>-varunā viśvāvāram</i>	vii 84 4a
at work.	<i>teṣu khādīś</i> $\parallel$ <i>ca kṛīś ca sām dadhe</i>	i 168 3d
As however	<i>tokāśya</i> $\parallel$ <i>nas tāne tanūnām</i>	ii 9 2c
is diminished	<i>pār</i> $\parallel$ <i>vām īśaḥ purūcīh</i>	iii 58 8a
some 20 verses it	<i>tsénā</i> $\parallel$ <i>-śjātā mātaram pūnah</i>	i 110 8b
be twice as often	<i>usé</i> $\parallel$ <i>-mataye māt no asyaś</i>	vii 1 19b

Further examples of (c) are found in i 59 2c, 168 9c, 190 3d  
ii 35 13a iv 1 12d v 11 3o vi 61 3d x 61 7c, 88 10b,  
89 13d, 99 5d, \*103 1o \*2a.

(u) That the syllable before the caesura, like the final syllable of the verse, is indifferent in quantity (*syllaba anceps*) is a theory as old as the *Samhitā* text itself, and finds expression in the systematic neglect to record the long vowels of certain endings in the position 4A (see especially § 176 ii). Western critics have also often inclined to this view. There is however no foundation for it in the usage of the poets: indeed the quantity of the fourth syllable is more strictly regulated in trimeter verse when the caesura follows than in dimeter verse where there is no caesura and the quantity of the fifth syllable where the caesura follows is better marked than that of the third in the same verses, as appears from the Table (§ 212).

(iii) Of the forms of the secondary caesura by far the most common is that which employs the break  $\cup \parallel - \cup$  and it is illustrated by the following examples

*śmāh sukṛo nā ṇ vāyāḥ | ayāḥ vi 64 5b*  
*vāṅśha śikra ṇ dīdivāḥ | pūrāḥ vi 1 8b,*

the first example having in addition a short eighth syllable.

Verses of this type amount to one-tenth of the whole number occurring in the *Vamśtha* group, and are more than twice as common there as in the *Rigveda* generally: they may therefore be appropriately termed *Vamśthā* verses.

The frequency of verses of this type in the *Vamśtha* group sufficiently accounts for the preference shown to a late caesura.

(iv) The less important forms of the secondary caesura may be illustrated as follows

(a) caesura after third syllable with pause after the eighth

*d citra ṇ cīrīṇāḥ dhārā | rayāḥ nāḥ vi 20 7d*

(b) iambic break  $\cup - \cup$  with pause after the eighth syllable

*prā dhānava ṇ udaprāto | navanta vi 42 1c*

(c) iambic break  $- \parallel - \cup$  with the same pause

*dīdivāḥ cū ṇ tātūyāḥ | aśīnāḥ vi 28 3d.*

(v) Verses with secondary caesura as now defined appear to be distinctly influenced by dimeter rhythm, yet they are by no means in entire agreement with it.

Of our verses (Table, § 212) 5 per cent. have caesura after the third syllable, 23 per cent. after the fourth, and 72 per cent. after the fifth. Of 100 dimeter verses measured in the same way the proportions are 22, 32 and 39 respectively whilst 8 verses have no break (except within a compound) in any of these positions.

Of the verses which have one or other form of iambic break only 12 per cent. have a short eighth syllable. Although this proportion is very much higher than that usually found in trimeter verse, it is very

much lower than that found in dimeter verse, in which the quantity of the eighth syllable is of course indifferent

Again in our instances the fifth syllable is long (as in the last example) in one-tenth of the verses, whereas in dimeter verse a long fifth syllable is seldom found more often than once in a hundred verses

We seem therefore to be precluded from using the convenient title 'dimeter Tristubh' for these verses, although it is very suggestive of their general character. Neither are we in a position to assert definitely that this type is derived by contamination from dimeter verse: it is quite possible that its leading variety  $\cup \parallel - \cup$  was directly derived from the more usual form  $\cup \parallel \cup \cup$  (which is only equally common in these hymns) in an endeavour to introduce a more varied rhythm (see § 207 iv)

In any case it does not seem probable that these verses represent a primitive type: for in that case we should expect to find them accompanied by the general freedom of metre which characterizes the archaic period: whereas in fact the Vasistha hymns are on the whole quite as regular as (say) those of Vāmadeva

206 In the opening a general iambic rhythm predominates under all circumstances, as in dimeter verse: but the development of this rhythm is not only different from that found in dimeter verse, but also varies according to the position of the caesura

If the caesura is early, about two-thirds of the openings in every group fall within the formula  $\simeq - \simeq -$ : if it is late, the proportion is always as high as three-fourths, and in the Viśvānitra group it is much higher

Before an early caesura the quantity of the third syllable is usually indifferent: in the groups of the normal period a short vowel is preferred, in the Kutsa hymns a long vowel

If the caesura is late the four regular forms are used almost indifferently in the archaic and even in the strophic period: but later there is a marked preference for a *short third and a long fifth* syllable, giving a *normal form*  $\simeq - \cup - -$ , which is identical with the usual form of the Pentad in Dvīpadā Virāj verse, and may therefore be called the *Pentad opening*

The syncopated form  $\simeq \cup - - \parallel$  is fairly common in the lyric hymns of the archaic period, and still more in the cretic and popular periods: but it has no such development as occurs in dimeter verse

The other variations of the opening are of very little historical importance: they are discussed in § 215

In the following stanza all the verses except the first have the Pentad opening

indri yurdm ṛ caruṁ dadydm am ṇ  
 ōjatham ugrā ṛ nī rādhyatam vjram  
 yu no daretu ṛ rṣkṣir dāhṣi h  
 idmim mīmādhām ṛ abhishakti ōjah      iv 41 +

As however the construction of stanzas in which all the verses have either early or late caesura is foreign to the metrical conceptions of the Rigveda stanzas of this type are only found here and there as chance productions. See further § 20, II.

207 The rhythm of the break depends directly upon the caesura and is much more varied when the caesura is early than otherwise this as has before been observed, is also the case with the opening

The *normal forms* are  $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$  when the caesura is early and  $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$  when the caesura is late each of them includes about 40 per cent. of the occurrences in the archaic period and an increasing proportion in the later periods.

The *subnormal forms* after an early caesura are  $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \cup$  and  $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$  that is the remaining possible forms with short sixth syllable. Of these the cretin break  $\text{—} \cup \text{—}$  is found in about one-seventh of the instances in the earlier groups but in the hymns of Vṛkṣāstra and of the later periods it is about twice as common. Occurrences of forms with short seventh syllable are about one-third as frequent in every period as the corresponding forms in which that syllable is long. With a late caesura the only subnormal form is  $\cup \text{—} \cup \cup$  in the archaic period this is almost as common as the normal form but in the later periods it is only half as common.

The iambic forms  $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup$  may all be considered as *occasional forms* at least in the archaic period. The form  $\cup \text{—} \cup$  becomes rather more common in the strophic period and retains a certain importance in the later groups but the two remaining forms decrease rapidly in frequency. The occurrence of these forms in connexion with secondary caesura has already been discussed in § 205.

The remaining forms may be considered as *irregular*. They are all relatively common in the archaic period and rare afterwards.



(i) The rule given in § 45, that the caesura should be followed by two short syllables, holds good for about two-thirds of all the trimeter verses in the R̥gveda, but is largely qualified by the particulars now given. Thus after an early caesura the cretic form  $\parallel - \cup -$  is much more common than the form  $\parallel \cup \cup$ , and must be considered as a more regular form and the form  $\parallel - \cup \cup$  seems also to rank as regular in the cretic and popular periods. In other particulars also the classification of the forms does not apply with equal force to all periods, for instance, the iambic forms (except  $\cup \parallel - \cup$ ) are really irregular after the strophic period.

(ii) With a late caesura both the opening and the break are comparatively inelastic in rhythm hence, as the examples quoted above (§ 206) shew, the trimeter rhythm tends towards an absolutely rigid scheme, viz

$$\approx - \cup - - \parallel \cup \cup - \cup - \approx$$

The Indian theory of classical Sanskrit metre unnecessarily distinguishes two forms of this verse, according to the quantity of the initial syllable and it fails to take adequate account of the caesura, which is the most important feature in the verse, at any rate as used in the R̥gveda. Still the term *Indravajrā* will be convenient for the scheme just given, if we may modify the traditional meaning by regarding the quantity of the initial syllable as indifferent, and the late caesura as essential.

Although the 'Indravajrā' verse (illustrated in § 206) never becomes established as the basis of an independent metre, it holds a position of such prominence amongst the various forms of Tristubh verse that it may fairly be considered as the dominant type which has emerged from the competition of numerous Vedic rivals.

(iii) The use of the iambic forms  $\parallel \cup - \cup$ ,  $\cup \parallel - \cup$ , and that of the cretic form  $\parallel - \cup -$  present the most striking features of the metre of the R̥gveda. At first sight the iambic forms appear to be characteristic of the earlier Vedic periods, and the cretic form seems to mark the later and this general view was assumed as a starting-point in §§ 94 v, 95 ii. It is now seen to be subject to important qualifications. In particular the form  $\cup \parallel - \cup$ , when used with secondary caesura, assumes importance even in some of the later periods, and in the hymns of Visvāmitra, and to a certain extent in the group x 29-80, is used side by side with the cretic form.

(iv) Although the form  $\cup \parallel \cup \cup$  is a regular form in all periods, it is comparatively little used in the Vasistha hymns, where it is actually less common than the form  $\cup \parallel - \cup$ . There is therefore ground for thinking that the latter form was encouraged by some distaste for the three consecutive short syllables at the break. In the end both these forms gave way to the dominant type  $- \parallel \cup \cup$ . It has been necessary to consider the quantity of the fifth syllable in connexion with the opening also, as it has a bearing upon the quantity of the fourth but it seems that even with a late caesura the quantity of the fifth syllable is primarily affected by the syllables that follow.

(v) In particular forms of the break are much commoner if the caesura is early than otherwise: the most common form is  $\text{u} - -$  and next to it  $\text{u} - - \text{u}$ . After a late caesura  $\text{u} -$  is more common than  $\text{u} - -$ . This gradation follows naturally from the rule in § 40: in both types of the verse the rarest forms of the break are those in which the caesura is followed by two long syllables.

208. The regular rhythm of the cadence is  $- \text{u} - \text{u}$  in Triśubh verses and  $- \text{u} - \text{u} \text{u}$  in Jagati verses. This rhythm appears to be almost entirely independent of the caesura and the rhythm of the break.

In the eighth place a short syllable is employed fairly often not only in the archaic and strophic period but also in the hymns of Vamadeva in the normal period and some liberty in this direction is still retained even in the later periods.

This liberty is however not extended equally to all syllables. Final syllables are found twice as often with this quantity as initial or medial syllables, and final vowels are found about twice as often as final consonants.

The prevalence of short final syllables in this position in the Vasiṣṭha hymns is associated with the secondary caesura, as becomes clear when we observe that almost one-half of the verses with short eighth syllable in this group have one or other of the iambic breaks  $\text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u}$  or  $\text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u}$ . The preference given to final short vowels as compared with final syllables ending in consonants calls for some different explanation: the phenomenon is clearly analogous with the similar preference for final short vowels in the second place and the two are discussed together in §§ 221-222.

The short tenth syllable is about half as common as the short eighth syllable and is almost always an initial or medial syllable as is also the short sixth syllable in dimeter verse. This fact shows that there is some arbitrary or conventional element associated with the opposite tendency shown in the short eighth syllable.

The short eighth and the short tenth syllable are associated in the same verse just as often as might be expected by the laws of chance, and are therefore tabulated quite independently: all other quantitative variations in the cadence are very rare, and are almost confined to the archaic period.

209. There are some important syllabic variations which

affect the cadence only. These are (i) the *catalectic Jagatī* verse, in which the Tristubh cadence is found in a lyric or Jagatī stanza, (ii) the *extended Tristubh* verse, in which the Jagatī cadence is found in a Tristubh stanza, and (iii) the *hypersyllabic verse*, in which the Tristubh or Jagatī cadence is extended by two syllables.

The first two variations may be explained by 'contamination' (§§ 55, 56). 'catalectic Jagatī' is not uncommon in the archaic and cretic periods, and becomes frequent in the popular R̥gveda, whilst 'extended Tristubh' is very rare except in the popular R̥gveda.

'Hypersyllabic verses' constitute a special metrical development, as is clear from the great number of such verses found in a single hymn (viii 97 10-15). The occurrences are confined to the archaic period.

These variations are further discussed in §§ 223, 224.

**210** The syllabic variations which affect the verse as a whole are those exhibited in 'decasyllabic verses' (§ 49) and 'hybrid verses' (§ 56). Of decasyllabic verses there are many varieties (§§ 226-228), several of which develop into the distinct metres found in the decasyllabic hymns. For the moment we put aside not only these verses, but also all those that occur in the hymns in decasyllabic Tristubh metre (§ 204 1), and consider only those verses which occur sporadically. The Table shews that these are relatively common in the archaic period, and are occasionally found in all the groups except those of Viśvāmitra and Kutsa.

The conclusion reached above (§ 149 1), that most of the verses in which some part of the word *indra* follows an early caesura are to be interpreted as decasyllabic, now finds support in considerations of rhythm. For in such verses the final syllable of the word is short in two instances out of every three, as is regularly the case in decasyllabic verses of the corresponding type (§ 226 1, ii) whereas if the resolved value were correct we should expect to find the rhythm  $\text{||} - \text{v} -$  quite twice as often as  $\text{||} - \text{v} \text{v}$ . These verses are therefore included with the decasyllabic verses in the Table.

Hybrid verses are occasionally found both in the lyric hymns of the archaic period, and in the popular R̥gveda.

In Chapters IV and VI I have preferred to interpret verses either by hiatus or by syllabic resolution, rather than as decasyllabic verses,

whenever the evidence appeared in any way adequate. In so doing I have followed a principle which commends itself by its simplicity both to Indian and to western critics of the *Rigveda* but the present enquiry rather points to the conclusion that decasyllabic variations should be more freely recognized. The evidence of early date is very much the same, whichever be the explanation favoured in particular instances.

211 In the general picture of the development of trimeter rhythm which is shown by the Table in the next section there appears a broad contrast between the groups of the archaic period and those that are subsequent to them. In the archaic period almost every variation is relatively common so that it would seem that the trimeter rhythm was not at that time established in any very strict form. But in all the subsequent periods we find very general regularity with special favour shewn to one or more forms, such as the secondary caesura, the pentad opening and the cretic break which are nevertheless common in all periods. In the popular *Rigveda* the variations are all such as may be explained by the contamination of verses or parts of verses of different types.

The variations which characterize the archaic period are both numerous and distinctive they are also generally similar to those which characterize the same period in dimeter verse. Hence we can readily detect the archaic rhythm even in a small group or a single hymn. The characteristics of the strophic normal, and cretic periods, on the other hand can only be observed in large bodies of verse in small groups and single hymns the favoured types of these periods may happen to predominate merely as the result of chance.

The frequency of contamination in the popular *Rigveda* has already been used as evidence of date in Chapter II in other points the metre of that period is in close agreement with that of the cretic period. On the other hand the provisional theory of an archaic period receives confirmation from the appearance of a great number of new features which are seen to characterize the groups assigned to this period and the examination of these details promises to supply us with the means of defining with considerable accuracy the list of hymns which should be assigned to this period. For the intermediate periods we can only expect to trace the history in its broader outlines.

212 TABLE SHEWING THE PRINCIPAL VARIETIES OF TRIMETER RHYTHM

Period	Archais		Stroph.	Normal		Cretic		Popular
Group	Lyric	Bhar	Vas.	Vāma.	Viśv	Kutsa x29-80		λ
No of verses	I	III	IV	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
	736	1524	1621	1598	1407	685	1155	3445
<b>THE CAESURA</b>								
Caesura after 4th syllable	448	468	440	496	537	582	519	519
„ „ 5th „	496	478	536	480	458	410	467	463
„ in compound	8	14	6	6	3	0	2	2
„ after 3rd syllable <sup>1</sup>	3	5	1	3	0	0	2	0
Secondary caesura								
with caes after 3rd	3	1	9	0	1	0	0	0
with break, „ ~ ~ ~	22	13	41	5	10	3	3	3
„ ~ „ ~ ~ <sup>2</sup>	40	42	107	24	61	15	34	17
~ „ ~ ~	5	15	18	6	7	6	7	3
<b>THE OPENING</b>								
(a) with early caesura								
Regular, „ ~ ~ ~	130	163	157	208	220	173	177	174
„ ~ ~ ~ ~	151	143	154	161	152	235	176	172
Syncopated, „ ~ ~ ~	58	40	37	85	42	68	58	63
Other forms	109	122	92	101	123	106	108	110
(b) with late caesura								
Pentad, „ ~ ~ ~ ~	115	91	131	182	169	139	150	132
Regular, „ ~ ~ ~ ~	113	98	128	77	105	84	69	82
„ ~ ~ ~ ~	91	94	85	85	81	58	86	98
„ ~ ~ ~ ~	78	79	106	75	74	48	61	61
Other forms	99	116	86	61	29	81	101	90
<b>THE BREAK</b>								
(a) after early caesura								
Normal, „ ~ ~ ~	201	206	217	233	295	286	245	270
Cretic, „ ~ ~ ~	67	72	67	77	142	170	136	119
„ ~ ~ ~ ~	60	94	65	78	57	50	80	80
„ ~ ~ ~ ~	19	32	34	19	20	62	46	37
Iambic, „ ~ ~ ~ <sup>1</sup>	33	14	4	5	1	0	3	1
Irregular forms	49	80	9	16	6	10	7	11
(b) with late caesura								
Normal, „ ~ ~ ~ ~	233	221	248	285	248	232	290	279
„ ~ ~ ~ ~	162	167	118	145	130	137	122	153
Iambic, „ ~ ~ ~ <sup>1</sup>	28	21	31	11	10	13	10	7
„ ~ ~ ~ <sup>1</sup>	13	13	9	4	1	7	3	2
Irregular, „ ~ ~ ~	17	5	6	3	3	0	3	2
<b>THE CADENCE</b>								
Short eighth syllable								
„ with secondary caesura	3	5	19	1	4	0	0	1
„ final vowel	30	21	15	22	7	7	2	4
„ final consonant	18	7	11	12	9	4	3	6
„ otherwise	24	11	2	8	3	10	3	4
Short tenth	34	34	5	8	2	6	3	3
Long ninth	8	9	5	6	1	1	3	2
Irregular	4	7	1	1	1	1	1	0
Catalectic Jagati	23	—	—	—	—	48	44	70
Extended Tristubh	—	1	2	1	2	2	0	45
Hypersyllabic verses	7	4	1	1	0	0	0	2
<b>SYLLABIC VARIATIONS</b>								
Decasyllabic verses <sup>3</sup>	21	25	14	14	4	5	11	10
Hybrid „	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	6

All the figures in this Table are proportional to each 1000 verses

213. In order to apply these results to smaller bodies of verse, it will be necessary to record more precisely the occurrences of those variations which are of historic importance. Amongst these the secondary caesura, which includes phenomena connected both with the ordinary caesura and with the break is the first to claim consideration.

Apart from the *Vāsiṣṭhi* hymns these variations are most common in the archaic period but are also occasionally used later. But the *Vāsiṣṭhi* verse (§ 203 iii) is very common in some of the later collections also for instance in the *Viśvāmitra* hymns and the collection x 20-80 whereas the form with caesura after the third syllable is hardly found later than the strophic period.

(i) The *Vāsiṣṭhi* so occurs so frequently that it will be sufficient to give the references to the hymns only indicating by an index number the number of occurrences in each hymn reference to the verse is only given in the case of composite hymns. The list then is

i \*24<sup>1</sup> 33 36 39 44 51 54 55<sup>2</sup> 56 57 58 59<sup>3</sup> [61<sup>4</sup>] 63<sup>5</sup> 71 72 73 74 79 83 85<sup>6</sup> 87 88 69 (6b) 9<sup>7</sup> \*93 100 10<sup>8</sup> 103 104<sup>9</sup> 110 111 112<sup>10</sup> 113 116<sup>11</sup> 117<sup>12</sup> 118<sup>13</sup> 119 1<sup>14</sup> 123 1<sup>15</sup> 137<sup>16</sup> 136 131 \*133 (1a 1b) 134 140 141 144 149 151 15<sup>17</sup> 153 154 135 156<sup>18</sup> \*161 \*163<sup>19</sup> \*164 165 167<sup>20</sup> 168 169 171 173<sup>21</sup> 175 \*179 180<sup>22</sup> 181 16<sup>23</sup> 183 184 185 ii 9 10 [11<sup>24</sup>] 12<sup>25</sup> 14 17 19 21 33 24 27 28 29 30 31 \*3<sup>26</sup> (5b) 33 35 36 36 40 iii 1 2<sup>27</sup> 4 5 6 7<sup>28</sup> 14<sup>29</sup> 15 16 19<sup>30</sup> 20 21 22 25 26 \*26 \*29 30<sup>31</sup> 31<sup>32</sup> 32<sup>33</sup> 35 36<sup>34</sup> 38<sup>35</sup> 39<sup>36</sup> 45 48 50 51<sup>37</sup> 53<sup>38</sup> (9b 10b \*17b) 54 55<sup>39</sup> 56 57 58<sup>40</sup> 59 61 iv 3<sup>41</sup> 3 4<sup>42</sup> 5<sup>43</sup> 6<sup>44</sup> [10<sup>45</sup>] 12 \*16 19<sup>46</sup> 20 22 24 27<sup>47</sup> 29 34 37 38 39 42 43 44 45 50 51 \*58 v 1 2 3 4 6 12 26 (1b) 30<sup>48</sup> 31 32<sup>49</sup> 34 36 41 42 43 45 47 46 49<sup>50</sup> 54 55 57 60<sup>51</sup> 6 77 61 \*83 67 vi 1 3 4 6 10 11 12<sup>52</sup> 15 (15b) 16 (46b) 21 22 23<sup>53</sup> 26 27<sup>54</sup> \*26 30 31 33 37<sup>55</sup> 38 39 40<sup>56</sup> 41 44<sup>57</sup> 48 49 50<sup>58</sup> 51 52 (14d) 60 63 63<sup>59</sup> 64 65 66<sup>60</sup> 67 68<sup>61</sup> 69 72 vii 1 2<sup>62</sup> 3<sup>63</sup> 4 6 7 8<sup>64</sup> 10<sup>65</sup> 13 14 17<sup>66</sup> 18<sup>67</sup> 19<sup>68</sup> 20<sup>69</sup> 21 22<sup>70</sup> 23 24 25 26<sup>71</sup> 27<sup>72</sup> 30<sup>73</sup> 31 32 34 36<sup>74</sup> 37 38<sup>75</sup> 39 40<sup>76</sup> 42<sup>77</sup> 43 45 56<sup>78</sup> [and 11a] 57 58<sup>79</sup> 60<sup>80</sup> 61 6<sup>81</sup> 64 65<sup>82</sup> 67<sup>83</sup> 68<sup>84</sup> 69<sup>85</sup> 70<sup>86</sup> 71 72 73 75<sup>87</sup> 77<sup>88</sup> 84<sup>89</sup> 85 86 87<sup>90</sup> 88 90 92<sup>91</sup> 95 97<sup>92</sup> 99 100 \*103 \*104 viii \*1 (34d) 4 15 18 19 20<sup>93</sup> 21 22 23<sup>94</sup> 24 27 33 35<sup>95</sup> 36 46 \*48<sup>96</sup> 49 53 57 60 66 68 67 88 89 96 98 99 101 ix 88 70 71 74 75 76<sup>97</sup> 79 83 84 85<sup>98</sup> 86<sup>99</sup> 88<sup>100</sup> 89<sup>101</sup> 91 93 95 96 97 (11d 21c) 106 107 108 [109] x [1] 3 4 \*10<sup>102</sup> \*13 \*14 \*16 23<sup>103</sup> \*27 29 30 31 32<sup>104</sup> (1d 2d) 35<sup>105</sup> 36<sup>106</sup> 38<sup>107</sup> 39 40<sup>108</sup> 45 [46<sup>109</sup>] 48<sup>110</sup> 49<sup>111</sup> 50 55 \*59 61<sup>112</sup> 62<sup>113</sup> 63 64<sup>114</sup> 65<sup>115</sup> 69<sup>116</sup> 70 73<sup>117</sup> 74<sup>118</sup> 76<sup>119</sup> 77 (7b 8b) 78 (7b) 79<sup>120</sup> \*82 \*83 89 91 92<sup>121</sup> 93 \*94 \*95 99<sup>122</sup> 104 105 106 113 115<sup>123</sup> 116 \*117 \*120<sup>124</sup> 123 124 \*125 132 140 147 \*158 172 \*179

[Notes to the Table opposite]

<sup>1</sup> For occurrences combined with a pause after the eighth syllable see under secondary caesura. The number of occurrences under the two heads *ga* must be added together to give the whole number in each 1000 verses.

*Vāsiṣṭhi* verse (§ 213)

Verses occurring in hymns in decasyllable *Trishtubh* are not included here.

(ii) The following are instances of the combination of a caesura after the third with a pause after the eighth syllable i 36 18a, 63 2c<sup>1</sup>, 174 9d, ii 14 4d<sup>2</sup>, 17 5d, 24 12c, 33 8c, iii 16 6c, 58 7a, iv 33 10a<sup>2</sup>, vi 15 12d, 48 17c<sup>3</sup>, 51 9b<sup>2 4</sup>, vii 2 7c, 7 1b, 20 7d, 26 5b, 36 5c, 57 6b, 60 1a<sup>4</sup>, 67 5b, 68 3c, 88 3d, 97 3b 9a, viii 25 23c, ix 96 4b, x 106 7a<sup>2</sup> 7d, \*120 9c, 132 2b, 172 2b

<sup>1</sup> caesura following the prior element of a compound <sup>2</sup> only in these instances is dimeter rhythm wanting <sup>3</sup> § 151 i <sup>4</sup> with short eighth syllable

(iii) In the following instances the break || ∪ - ∪ is combined with a pause after the eighth syllable i \*24 15b, 32 13a, 33 8a, 44 10a, 55 4a, 57 4b, 58 9d, 60 5d, 71 4c<sup>1</sup>, 83 1d, 87 6b, 88 5d, 89 6d, \*93 5d, 104 1d, 106 5b, 113 3c, 116 1d 7d, 117 6d 16b, 120 7c, 121 13d<sup>2</sup>, 127 8a, 128 4a, 158 4b, \*164 13d, 166 14b, 180 8c, 190 4a, ii 9 3c<sup>3</sup>, 15 5b, 23 8a, 27 16a, iii 1 17c, 14 6c 7a, 19 2a, 25 5a, 26 3c 6a, 34 8a, 43 3a, 47 1b, 53 11b, 55 18a, 58 7b, 59 2c, 61 2a, iv 12 6b, 20 3b, \*24 9b, 26 5b, 37 3b, 50 3b 5a, 55 2c<sup>2</sup>, v 31 11d, 46 2d, 53 6a 7c 11b 14a, 87 1c 4c 8c, vi 2 11e, 15 10b 12a 15e, 17 1d 13c, 23 7d<sup>2</sup>, 26 3c 6c, 29 2b 2c, 30 4b, 49 4d, 50 12a 14c, 51 9d, 63 2d 7c, 64 5a<sup>2</sup>, 67 2d, 73 2a<sup>2</sup>, vii 1 3b 4c 5a 6b 11b 15a 19a 20d, 3 9c 10b, 7 4b 7d, 14 3b, 18 7a 7b, 19 1c 4d 8c, 20 4d 5d 7b 8a 9a, 21 8d, 22 2c, 23 3a, 25 †1d<sup>4</sup>, 27 1d, 29 3a, 36 4c 9b, 37 1b<sup>2</sup> 2b<sup>2</sup> 6c, 38 1d<sup>4</sup> 6a<sup>7</sup> 7b 7c, 39 2d 3c 7a, 40 1b<sup>2</sup> 3c, 42 1c, 56 14b 19c, 58 5c, 60 6c 7b 12a, 61 4c, 67 5d, 68 3a 6b 8c<sup>2</sup>, 70 1b, 84 2b, 85 1a 1d, 86 4b<sup>2</sup> 6b<sup>2</sup> 6c<sup>2</sup>, 87 1b 5d, 92 3c 4d<sup>2</sup>, 95 2a 2b 4a 5b<sup>2</sup> 6a<sup>2</sup>, 97 2a<sup>2</sup> 2d 5d<sup>2</sup>, 100 3b, viii 15 2c, 17 15c, 18 19c<sup>2</sup>, 22 9b, 23 27c, 24 15c, 25 11c, 27 10a, 36 1b = 2b = 3b, 46 28c, 60 4a, 70 7c, 80 10d, 87 6a, 96 2c 17c, 98 1c, 99 8a, 101 8a, ix 74 4c, 79 3a 3b, 86 43a, 90 6d, 93 5d, 97 3d 6d 54d<sup>2</sup>, 108 15b, 111 2a, x 4 1c 2b, \*17 1d, \*18 12c, 23 3a<sup>2</sup>, 30 2b, 48 7b, 61 20b, 65 1b 15d, 66 1a<sup>1</sup>, 73 5a, 74 6c, 75 5c, \*87 21d, \*95 7c, 96 5a, 99 1a<sup>2</sup> 6a, 105 4b, 116 5c, 122 8d, 123 5d, 126 8b, 140 6c, 160 5d<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> § 151 in <sup>2</sup> also short eighth syllable <sup>3</sup> 2 sing perf in -thā (tha) in eighth place <sup>4</sup> § 166 iv <sup>5</sup> § 170 n c <sup>6</sup> § 151 ii <sup>7</sup> § 142 i

(iv) The break - || - ∪ is combined with a pause after the eighth syllable in the following verses i 55 3d 6d, 56 3b, 57 4c 6b, 77 5c, 89 5c, 100 4c 10b 15a, 113 13c, 116 21a, 117 3b 4c 7d 13b, 118 6d, 121 11a, 122 3c 4b, 132 6a, 135 6a, 141 6c, 146 3c, 156 2b 3a 3c, 158 2c 5c, \*164 29a \*52a, 167 5b, 173 1c<sup>1</sup>, 178 3c<sup>1</sup>, 186 3b 5a 11a, 189 4a<sup>1</sup>, 190 3d<sup>2</sup> 4b, ii 4 3d, [11 10b 12d 21c], 14 8d, 17 1b 6c, 20 4c<sup>1</sup>, 23 7a, 32 3b, 33 5d 12c, 35 9b 15a, 36 6a, iii 4 4b, 5 2a, 7 10d, 15 1b<sup>1</sup>, 19 2b, 21 1c 4b, 33 1c 8b 9a, 54 15b, iv 2 3a, 4 1d<sup>7</sup>, 6 3a, 12 6c, 16 5b, 22 3c, 26 6d, 29 3c, 37 1a<sup>1</sup>, v 2 9d, 8 5b, 32 6a, 36 1b, 41 3a 13b, 46 7c, 54 11c, 87 9a, vi 1 3c, 2 11c, 10 3d, 13 4d, 16 46a<sup>2</sup>, 17 10d<sup>1</sup>, 20 6c, 21 6d<sup>4</sup> 7a, 23 9a, 26 1d<sup>1</sup>, 29 5b, 40 2d, 49 14d, 50 7a 12c 12d 14a, 63 8b<sup>1</sup>, 64 1d 3b, 65 1b, 66 1c 8d<sup>1</sup>, vii 1 3a<sup>5</sup> 9a<sup>1</sup> 13a<sup>1</sup> 14c, 3 10a, 6 7a, 8 5c, 16 4a, 18 17d, 19 7d<sup>1</sup>, 28 3d<sup>1</sup>, 34 24a, 40 5c, 41 7c, 43 3b, 56 17b, 57 3b 6d, 60 4c, 61 4b, 67 5a 5c, 68 5a, 70 1a, 76 6a 7b, 77 2a 5a, 84 1a 1c, 86 4c, 88 3c<sup>2</sup>, 95 5a, viii 25 18c, 26 5c<sup>1</sup>, 35 4a 6a, 60 10a<sup>1</sup>, 96 2b<sup>2</sup>, ix 69 8d,

10 1b 2c 73 5d, 74 4a, 75 3b, 86 4c 36b 91 4a 93 4d 94 3a, 96 17a,  
 9 27d 34f 53c 53d, 107 16a 26c, 110 8a x 4 6c \*10 10a, 22 16d  
 23 4a, \*2, 12a 30 1d 3c 4b, 39 d, 43 4b, 4c 4b, \*9 7a, 61 4b 12c  
 17b 16c 23b, 61 3a 70 11c, 74 1a 76 1b, \*8c 23b, 91 1i, 93 6a,  
 \*9c 6b, 99 6d 101 7d \*103 11c, 111 3c, 120 3c \*5d, 1-6 8c  
 133 7c.

<sup>1</sup> with short eighth syllable § 127 b <sup>2</sup> § 11 III. § 159  
<sup>3</sup> impr. of in eighth place § 191 <sup>4</sup> doubtful see § 100 L

(v) Short final syllables in the eighth place are specially common in the Vasiṣṭha hymns if however we except those instances which occur in the verses already referred to, they are not so common as in the archaic period or in the Vāmadeva hymns. It does not therefore appear that this variation is *by itself* an indication of secondary caesura: but in the cases referred to it is corroboratory evidence of this type.

214. Both forms of the weak caesura (§ 20c) are characteristic of the archaic period. There is however some difficulty in determining the extent of these variations, even when occurrences in verses which have secondary caesura are excluded from consideration.

A caesura separating two elements in a word may confidently be postulated where the rhythm of the break confirms it as in the following examples

<i>damdēya cāru</i> § <i>śamam asti dādhāh</i>	i 62 6b
<i>dādhāhārata</i> § <i>pramātur vāṇṣṭhah</i>	ii 9 1c
<i>amāhṛya</i> § <i>śamam hanti gāh</i>	25 4c.

Conversely the absence of any regular rhythm in the break makes the 'weak caesuras' postulated in the following examples very doubtful

<i>yā dhēnām vāṇa</i> § <i>yārah vāṇṣṭhām</i>	iv 33 8b
<i>tatāpī</i> § <i>śrīyāya cid ākātī svē</i>	v 33 4a.

The consideration which seems decisive in favour of metrical interpretation by means of the weak caesura in the latter instances is the extreme rarity of trimeter verses which cannot be explained in one or other of these ways. Undoubtedly the phoetic character of the Vedic dialect makes a pause of some kind at one of the points named almost unavoidable but only a very strong metrical feeling for the necessity of such a pause can account for our finding only *three* trimeter verses in the whole R̥gveda which have certainly no caesura of any kind namely

<i>indm bahārānā kātā dādhā prātī</i>	ii 1 8d
<i>amādhm śrīyāntar indvato nṛm</i>	ii 20 1d
<i>indra vāṇṣṭhāyā gādā śacīvāh</i>	iii 53 2d.



A weak caesura separating two parts of a compound is also found in Virgil see Dr A W Verrall's note on 'the metrical division of compound words in Virgil' in the *Classical Review* for July 1904

The instances of 'weak caesura' are as follows, those which imply an irregular rhythm at the break having an indication to that effect attached

(i) The caesura follows the prior element of a compound or derivative i 30 16c<sup>1</sup>, 35 5b, 36 1c<sup>2</sup> 10c, 52 9c, 58 8b<sup>1</sup>, 60 5c<sup>1</sup>, [61 3c 4d<sup>1</sup> 5c<sup>3</sup> 5d 16a 16c], 62 1b 6a 6b, 63 2c<sup>2</sup>, 64 3b<sup>1</sup>, 116 3d, 120 9a, 122 2a<sup>1</sup>, 127 5b, 129 4b<sup>1</sup>, 141 12a, 148 1b<sup>1</sup>, 184 2c, ii 4 1a<sup>1</sup>, 9 1a 1c, 19 8a<sup>1</sup>, 25 4c, 34 8d, iii 2 7d, 26 5d, 53 16d, 58 7c 9a, iv 1 4c<sup>1</sup> 6b<sup>1</sup> 8b<sup>1</sup> 19b, 3 1b<sup>1</sup>, 22 3a<sup>1</sup>, 23 6d, 33 8b<sup>1</sup>, 41 3d, 42 8d, vi 2 11a<sup>1</sup>, 4 7a, 11 4d, 15 4c, 16 46c<sup>1</sup>, 20 1c 5c<sup>1</sup> †8c<sup>1</sup> 11c 13d<sup>1</sup>, 24 6c, 26 5d<sup>1</sup>, 29 4a, 33 4d<sup>1</sup>, 34 2b 3d, 44 10d, 51 10a, 68 1b 2d<sup>1</sup> 6a 7a, vii 2 7b, 4 5d, 8 6d, 14 1c, 23 5b, \*33 11a, 38 2d 5d, 58 2b, 60 8d, \*66 16a<sup>1</sup>, 81 4c, 88 6c<sup>1</sup>, viii 21 9b, 23 19c, 27 11c, 60 17c, 61 14a<sup>1</sup>, 66 6c<sup>1</sup>, 87 5c, 99 1c, ix 72 4a<sup>1</sup>, 83 5c<sup>1</sup>, 84 1a, 86 40c<sup>1</sup>, 88 3d, 94 1d, 108 13b, x [1 5a], \*17 5b, 22 10a<sup>1</sup>, 35 14d, 48 8b<sup>1</sup>, 50 1b, 61 13d 15c 15d 21c, 74 6c, 76 2b, \*85 37a<sup>1</sup>, \*98 5b, 99 8d<sup>1</sup>, \*101 2b, 105 4c 11d<sup>1</sup> 11e<sup>1</sup>, 122 1a, 140 6c, 160 1a, \*167 4d Occurrences in *dvandva* compounds, as *indī ā || -varunā*, are not included (§ 205 i)

<sup>1</sup> an irregular rhythm results      <sup>2</sup> after third syllable      <sup>3</sup> Vñātsthānā verse  
<sup>4</sup> reading *śaśvādibham* in one word

(ii) The caesura follows the third syllable i 36 1c<sup>1</sup>, [61 2b], 62 2d 5a 5b 5c, 73 8a<sup>2</sup>, 122 8c, 127 2b, 135 4f<sup>3</sup>, 186 5b, iv 2 19d, 7 11d, 26 4b, v 33 4c, 49 5b, vi 3 4d 6b 8b, 11 3c, 20 4d, 24 7d<sup>2</sup>, 33 2b, vii 20 6a, 37 8c<sup>4</sup>, 61 1d, 69 3a, viii 96 3b, 97 13a, ix 72 1c, 93 5b, 97 31d, x 32 5d, 50 5b, 65 15b, 68 2a, \*95 7a, 105 5c, 115 2d For examples accompanied by secondary caesura see § 213 ii

<sup>1</sup> caesura after prior element of compound      <sup>2</sup> § 151 iii      <sup>3</sup> § 149 iii  
<sup>4</sup> but see Metrical Comm

Apart from the weak caesura irregularities are few and historically unimportant but we may conveniently record here the following instances

(iii) The caesura is at the point of Sandhi combination i 118 7a 7c, 155 4d, 186 8c, v 45 9b, \*vi 75 18b, viii 46 22a, ix 87 5b x 50 3c See also § 205 i

(iv) The metre is so uncertain that the position of the caesura cannot be determined in \*i 162 16c, iv 26 7a, and viii 46 20a

(v) The verses i 122 5c, v 33 7a, and vi 12 6a appear to be dimeter verses, but as they occur in hymns which are otherwise in trimeter metre the text is probably incorrect

215 The opening provides very little material which can be used for the historical investigation of small groups of hymns

its metrical character being less marked than that of other parts of the verse and the changes that take place being more gradual. Still a history of Vedic metre would be incomplete without some account of its development, and the attempt is therefore made here to discuss this part of the verse in more detail than was done in § 206. In consequence of the large number of possible forms this is a rather complicated task.

Perhaps the clearest view of the rhythm is obtained by examining the quantities of the second, third, and fourth syllables according as (i) the caesura is early (ii) the caesura is late and the fifth syllable long or (iii) the caesura is late and the fifth syllable short.

The table at the end of this section gives accordingly the proportions in which each possible form is found under each of these conditions, and also the corresponding proportions in dimeter verse in three selected groups of hymns. To obtain the clearest possible view we take the groups of which the historical character is in other ways the most pronounced namely (i) the lyric verse of group I (§ 91) (ii) the normal group VI and (iii) the popular Rigveda.

It appears at once that all the groups agree in the general contrast between the regular forms  $\times - \times - (\times)$  and the irregular forms  $\times \cup \times (\times)$  which have consecutive short syllables in the second and third places but that forms which have consecutive short syllables in the fourth and fifth places are also irregular. The remaining forms may be considered as *occasional forms* under all conditions, the syncopated type  $\times \cup - - (\times)$  being everywhere the most common but occasional forms are comparatively rare where the caesura is late.

In the two extreme groups there is (except as just stated) very little difference between the openings in the four classes but in the normal group there is a very marked difference between dimeter and trimeter verse, which is brought out by comparing the frequency of the iambic form  $\times - \cup -$  with that of the syncopated form  $\times \cup - -$ . For whilst in dimeter verse the iambic form is not twice as common as the syncopated form in trimeter verse it is never less than six times as common and if there is a long fifth syllable before the caesura, it is more than fifteen times as common.

In the hymns therefore of this group the dimeter and trimeter

rhythm have developed in opposite directions. The favour shewn in dimeter verse to a long third syllable may perhaps be connected with the fact that the fifth syllable is always short but at any rate the favour regularly shewn in trimeter verse to a short third syllable is most marked when the fifth syllable is long.

The following particulars also deserve to be noticed

(i) It is agreed on all hands that the quantity of the first syllable is in all cases indifferent. According to my calculations, the number of long and short syllables in this position is almost exactly the same. Cf. § 183.

(ii) It follows from the Table that the 4th syllable is long in three cases out of four before early caesura, and in nine cases out of ten before late caesura, the difference being due to the more strict rhythm employed generally in the latter alternative.

(iii) The line of distinction between occasional and irregular forms cannot be quite clearly drawn. Consecutive short syllables in the fourth and fifth places are particularly rare, doubtless because the late caesura is almost always followed by two short syllables. Amongst the 'occasional forms'  $\approx \cup - \cup$  and  $\approx \cup - \cup -$  are somewhat rare, and amongst the irregular forms  $\approx \cup \cup - \approx$  is rather common.

(iv) The nine possible types of irregular opening are included in the formulae  $\approx \cup \cup \approx$ ,  $\approx \cup \cup \approx \approx$ ,  $\approx \approx \approx \cup \cup$ . The form  $\approx \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , in which the irregularity is doubled, and every trace of the rhythm of the opening lost, is naturally very rare yet we find a few examples of it, as

*nā nī mīṣatrī || surāno divē-dive* \*III 29 14c

TABLE SHEWING THE RHYTHM OF THE OPENING

Groups	Lyric (I)				Normal (VI)				Popular (X)			
	Dim	A	B	C	Dim	A	B	C	Dim	A	B	C
Regular forms												
$\approx - - -$	29	29	39	53	28	43	61	44	31	33	43	48
$\approx - - -$	39	34	31	36	39	35	24	44	37	33	34	86
Occasional forms												
$\approx \cup - -$	11	13	11	7	16	7	4	7	11	12	8	8
$\approx - - \cup^1$	10	13	5	5	7	6	3	1	10	11	4	2
$\approx - \cup \cup^1$	4	5	5	5	3	4	4	1	3	5	3	1
$\approx \cup \cup \cup^1$	4	3	5	0	5	3	2	0	5	3	3	1
Irregular forms												
$\approx \cup \cup -$	2	2	4	3	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	3
$\approx \cup \cup \cup$	5	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	1	5	5

A Trimeter verse with early caesura

B Trimeter verse with late caesura and long fifth syllable

C " " " " short " "

The figures are proportional to 100 verses of each class

<sup>1</sup> These forms are irregular in C

216 The instances of consecutive short syllables in the second and third places in trimeter verse are about 650 in number the proportion being slightly larger than in dimeter verse (§ 190). In fully one half of the instances the second syllable contains a short final vowel or *a* as representing final *-a/* or *e* for the final short vowel the text in several instances gives a long vowel or substitutes *-o* for final *-a* (§ 171 iv). Only in some 73 instances do we find a similar short final vowel in the third place and we therefore have repeated the phenomenon already noticed in dimeter verse (§ 189) that a short final vowel is specially capable of bearing the ictus if it occurs in the second place.

There are less than 200 examples of consecutive short syllables in the fourth and fifth places. In these instances the fourth syllable only rarely contains a final vowel nor is there any trace of any special metrical value of the fifth syllable.

Similar metrical phenomena are observable in the endence and the problem as a whole and its connexion with the question of protracted vowels, are further discussed in § 221.

Consecutive short syllables in either position are less common in the normal period than elsewhere.

Out of about 350 instances of final short vowels in the second place quoted below about 31 are instances in which the text gives a long vowel, but, as is held on insufficient grounds. Whether this number is too large or too small the general argument is unaffected.

(i) Consecutive short syllables appear in the second and third places in trimeter verse as follows

(a) the ictus falls on a final vowel of a word or of the prior element of a compound or derivative i 33 1b 14c 33 9a, 39 10a 51 10a, 54 1b, 55 4b, 57 5a, 59 7c, 64 11d, [68 2a], 76 1a 4b, 77 3d, 87 1o 2b, 89 3c, 90 7a, 100 14b, 104 7c, 113 6a 6c, 116 8b 14c, 25b, 118 2d 10c, 121 4a, 134 14a 137 3a, 120 18a 131 16a, 140 113a 143 8d 149 1b, 159 9d, 153 14c, \*103 1b \*14a, \*163 3a \*4a \*6c \*11a, \*164 10d \*11d \*31b \*36d \*41b \*43a \*45b, 165 4b 6a 9d, 167 10d \*170 5c, 171 1a, 177 3b 182 2a 4a, 186 1a 1o 4a 5a 6a 7a 8a ii 9 2c, 4 1c, 9 4c, 10 6d, [11 15c], 19 8b, 13 10d, 15 1d, 20 8c, 21 1a 1o 2a, 31 6c, 33 13c, 38 8b, 39 8c iii 1 31c, 5 8c, 7 16a, 110c 9 9a, 25 5a, \*28 4d, \*29 9b \*6d \*14c, 30 19c 20b, 31 20c, 32 2c 33 6c 6d, 35 13a 36 2d, 43 9d 7a 7c 7d, 40 2c, 50 1d 51 7a, 54 2a 14a iv 1 6c, 2 4a, 4 4a, 5 5b 11d 19d, 6 3d, 12 6b, 16 14a 20b, \*18 3d \*4a, 19 6d, 24 7c, 26 3c 6d, 28 1b, 38 11a, 3d 4b 4d 10b, 54 4a, 57 3a, v 30 2a 6a 30 6a, 33 1a 2d 10a, 41 3b 7a 17d, 8a 16b, 16d 19a, 48 19c, 5b, 49 4a, 54 8b 10b 15d, 60 3d 62 1c vi 4 3c, 5 3c 4a, 6 5b, 8 1d, \*15 19b, 90 1a 5c, 91 9c, 26 5c, 27 3d, 30 1b, 40 1a 2a 4b, 44 14a 19b 47 13a \*28d, 48 1o 14c, 49 14a 15d, 50 14a, 51 3c 8a, 61 13c,

63 9a 9d<sup>4</sup>, 70 1a, vii 1 6a †8c<sup>2</sup> 16c 18c, 8 2d, 16 6c, 20 3a, 21 2d, 24 4b<sup>4</sup>, 28 †1a<sup>7</sup>, \*33 14a, 34 [17a 18a] 24a, \*35 3b \*4d \*9a \*12c \*13a \*13b \*13c, 39 5c, 41 7b, 45 4b, 46 1b, 53 †3a<sup>2</sup>, 56 16b, 58 5d, 59 4a 4c, 60 5c, 64 2b 2d, 67 †2b<sup>1</sup>, 77 †1a<sup>1</sup>, 81 †1c<sup>6</sup>, 82 3a, 84 †3c<sup>1</sup>, 88 3c, 92 †1c<sup>1</sup>, 93 †3a<sup>1</sup>, 97 7a, 98 2c, 99 2b 5b<sup>4</sup>, 100 2b, \*103 9a, \*104 8c \*19b \*19d \*24a, viii 1 24c<sup>4</sup>, 19 33a, 21 3b †8c<sup>2</sup>, 23 3c, 27 10a, 53 6a, 54 6a, 60 14a, 61 9c, 96 †6d<sup>1</sup> 11d 15c, 98 1c<sup>4</sup>, ix 69 †2a<sup>1</sup>, 73 8b, 79 1c 3d, 86 16c, 90 5d, 92 3d 94 1a, 95 3d, 96 2b 18a, 97 †49c<sup>3</sup> †51a<sup>3</sup> 53a 55c 55d, 108 14a, 110 5a, 11a, x 4 7a<sup>4</sup>, 8 4a 5c, \*10 †13b<sup>8</sup>, \*13 3a<sup>4</sup>, \*15 1d \*13a, \*16 5a, \*17 6d, \*18 3c, 23 7b, \*27 21c, 30 10b 13a, 31 6c, \*34 8b, 37 3a, 48 †7b<sup>7</sup>, 49 11d, \*52 6a, \*53 4c<sup>14</sup> \*4d<sup>1</sup> \*5a<sup>4</sup>, 54 6d<sup>4</sup>, \*59 6d, 61 26b, 63 16c, 66 5c<sup>4</sup> 8d, 68 2b 3a<sup>12</sup>, 69 2d 12c, \*71 †4c<sup>2</sup>, 73 †9b<sup>2</sup>, 74 4b, 76 4a 8d, 77 8c, \*82 7d, \*87 19c, \*88 18b, 89 10b, \*94 7d<sup>4</sup>, \*95 4b †9b<sup>9</sup>, 96 4a, 99 7c 8d 11d, \*102 2b \*7c \*10a, \*103 6a, \*108 5b \*7d \*8a, 110 1c, 116 2a, \*117 1c<sup>2</sup> \*4a \*6c, \*120 2c \*6b \*7d, \*121 4a \*4b \*4c, 126 8b, \*130 1b, 131 7a, 139 3c, 147 5b, 160 3b, \*168 3b, \*177 3b, 178 3b

<sup>1</sup> text *ūpo*  
§§ 166 v, 175 i

<sup>2</sup> text *utō*  
§ 142 i

<sup>3</sup> text *abhi*  
<sup>6</sup> text *āpo*

<sup>4</sup> -a from stem in *an*, cf  
7 text *brāhmā*, see § 175 i

<sup>8</sup> reading *tāva mānāh*, § 151 iii

<sup>9</sup> § 151 i, but doubtful

<sup>10</sup> text *hā*

<sup>11</sup> text *prā-prā*

<sup>12</sup> cf § 166 iv

<sup>13</sup> cf § 168 ii

<sup>14</sup> § 121 c

(b) the ictus falls on a similar final vowel in the third place i 44 14c, [65 9a], 152 4c, 167 8b 8d, 174 10b, 183 4b, ii 3 3a, 23 17c, 40 6c, iii \*29 15b, v 41 9c, 62 6a, vi 10 1b, 27 3b, 49 9a, 66 6d 9d, vii 1 2b, 9 4b, 20 7c, [34 10b], \*35 11c, 61 3b, viii 24 5c, ix 70 7a, 88 7b, x 55 4a, 64 1d, 73 8d, \*95 11a, \*103 3a, 105 4b 7c

(c) the ictus falls elsewhere i 31 16d, 35 8b<sup>1</sup>, 51 4a, 53 11a, 57 3d, 58 2a, 61 9d, 63 3b, 64 14a, [67 10a], 71 8a, 88 2a, 91 20c 22a 22b, 92 11c 12c, 94 1b, 100 4c 6c, 107 2b, 108 2a, 109 7a, 110 3a 5a, 111 3d, 114 4d, 116 10a 10c 18c 21c 22d 25d, 117 10d 16c, 121 8d 9d, 123 9d 10c, 124 2a 2b, 125 2a, 127 3f 5f, 130 6f, 134 4a 4f, 139 11b, 140 1b 4c, 141 6b, 155 4a, 158 2c, \*161 6d \*8a \*12c, \*162 13c \*14a \*20b, \*164 40a, 168 9b, \*179 2c \*4d, 181 7d 9b, ii 1 11c, 2 3c 4b, [11 7c], 12 2a, 13 12a, 15 4b 6c, 16 1c, 19 3c 6b 7b, 20 2c 7c, 24 11a, 27 2d 13a, 30 1c, 32 1b, 34 9c, 38 4d, iii 20 1a, 23 1a, \*29 2a \*14b \*14d \*16c, 32 6a, 33 3c, 48 3b, 51 4c, 61 3d, iv 2 11a 19b, 3 9d 12d 16c, 4 5d, 5 6b 10b, 7 1a, 16 2d, 17 7a 10b, \*18 2a, 19 6c, 26 2c, 28 5d, 33 8d, 35 3a 7c 9c, 36 1d, 38 4c, 39 5a, 42 4a, 56 2b, 57 2b, v 30 3c 12a, 31 8a 8b 8c, 33 10b, \*40 7a, 41 16c, 45 1b, 54 3d 10a 14b, 57 3c, 62 3c 5b, 85 7a, vi 4 7b, 6 4d, 20 2b 8b 13c, 22 5d, 30 1c 1d 5a, 35 5c 5d, 38 2d 3b, 39 2a 2c, 44 12c 17b 22d 23a, 46 13c, 47 2d \*30b, 48 11b, 61 1a, 62 7a 11a, 64 1b, 66 7c, 69 5c 5d, 70 1d, 72 2d 4c, vii 5 3b, 8 6d, 20 1b, 32 9c 13a, \*33 9d \*12d, [34 16a<sup>2</sup>], 37 6a, 38 6d, 41 6d, 45 3c, 48 2a, 71 2c, 76 1d, 79 4a, 80 2d, 81 3c, 98 2a, 99 3b 6d, \*103 10b, viii 20 5b, 26 9c 12c, 46 28a, 49 8c, 96 14a 18d, ix 70 6b, 72 3a, 73 5d, 79 4b, 86 4c 6a, 89 1d 3b, 97 23b 41d, 106 7c, 110 8c, x 4 1c, \*14 6a, \*15 5b, 23 5c, 36 13a, 39 2a 9c 10c, 45 8c, [46 8b], 47 2c, 48 6c, 50 2b, \*52 2c \*3c, 54 2a 3d 6a 6b, 55 4b, 61 5d, 62 3b, 67 9b, 68 1b 5d 12a, 70 4a, \*71

2a, 73 5b 9c, 77 7a, [76 5b], 80 4b, \*85 43b, \*68 2d 93 8a, \*94 11b,  
 \*95 2b, 96 4c 99 5d, \*101 2b, \*103 7a, 106 3c, \*107 1a \*5d \*6d  
 \*108 11a, \*109 1a, 122 7d 123 1c, \*125 3b \*8b, \*130 4b 131 5a,  
 \*139 4b \*6a, 144 5b, 146 2d, \*149 5b, 160 3a, \*162 1c = \*2c = \*3c.

<sup>1</sup> § 147 III.

<sup>2</sup> § 142 L.

(ii) It will be convenient to note here the occurrences of  
 protracted final vowels and others of doubtful quantity before a  
 short third syllable, namely: 31 7a, 48 2a, 73 2c, 83 1a, 115 2c, 117  
 2d 9d, 116 9b, 131 12d, 142 7c 8d 9d 15d 193 12a, 139 11a<sup>2</sup> 140  
 13a, \*168 4d, \*164 3d \*91a \*33d \*40c<sup>2</sup> 165 2d, 166 8a 183 3c,  
 186 5c, 189 4a<sup>2</sup> u [11 17d<sup>2</sup>] 17 6a, 24 10d 33 2d m 23 1d  
 51 3c, 53 5c 6c, 60 2c, 61 2b iv 26 7a, 36 9c, 42 9d, 43 6d,  
 51 4c v 8 7b, 30 1b, 36 1c<sup>2</sup> 6d 41 17a, 44 9c 9d, 54 15b, 56 6b,  
 67 5c vi 1 7b 2 11c<sup>2</sup> 17 11d, 49 5c \*75 8c \*11c vii 1 4c  
 13a 24c, 90 8d 31 6c, 41 5b 7a, 47 3a 71 3b 3c 72 1b, 63 2a 2c  
 2d 100 2d 101 3d viii 3 9c 10a 12a 12c<sup>2</sup> 20 2a 6c, 61 13c, 96  
 10d ix 74 5b, 89 7c 97 26a, 101 2c, 103 4a, 110 11c x 8 6b,  
 \*10 8d, \*15 9a, \*18 13d \*26 8d, 36 8b, 40 5d, 43 4c, 47 4c \*51 5a  
 \*50 1d, \*53 8c, \*71 3c, 78 4d [76 1b], \*88 17a, 91 15c, \*101 1d  
 \*102 9c, \*109 1c, \*114 7d, \*121 5b, 138 1c, \*149 2a, 160 1b.

-a fo -ax (§ 166 v)

<sup>2</sup> imperative in -ahi Ai

(iii) Consecutive short syllables are found in the fourth and fifth  
 places in: 32 5d, 36 15c 48 6a, 53 10b 59 4a, [66 1b, 70 7b], 66 6b 95  
 10b, 100 16b<sup>2</sup> 104 1c, 110 3c, 112 3b, 116 2a, 117 14d, 121 1d 124 7b  
 126 1a 151 4d, 152 1c, 154 5a 6d 155 1d \*163 8a, \*164 5c \*8a \*8d  
 \*14a, 166 5c<sup>2</sup> 173 8c, 174 3d 5d, \*179 3b, 183 5b 184 2b, 189 7d  
 ii 2 2d<sup>2</sup> 12 8b 17 7a, 19 7d, 90 1a, 30 4b, 31 6b 38 1d iii 3  
 5b 15 3c, \*29 14c, 43 2b, 46 4b, 49 2b, 53 9d 56 7c 7d 8a 9a, 60 7b  
 61 3b iv 1 14a 2 3c, 5 9c, 6 4a, 37 1c, 34 5c, 40 2b 5c v 2  
 5c, 31 13b, 41 3c 16c, 44 2c, 54 11d 13c, 57 5b 6c, 62 4b 63 3d 6d,  
 61 1a vi 3 5c, 7 1a 4c 6b, 10 2d, 15 5b 23 1b +8a, 24 9a, 25 3a,  
 \*26 6d, 30 3d, 31 5c<sup>2</sup> 35 4b, 36 2b 39 2b 3a 3d 4a 4c, 40 5a, 44 [8a]  
 16b 16b 47 4b 10b 49 3b 6b 10c, 50 4d 6c, 51 1c 1d 52 15b 17a,  
 62 6a, 64 3d 68 10d, 69 5b \*74 1b vii 1 4a, 6 2a 9 3a, 12 2d  
 3a, 18 24d, 23 5b, \*35 4d, 36 3a, 38 5c, 41 3b, 45 3d, 46 3b, 48 2a,  
 [56 9b], 59 8a, 75 5d 9c 4d, 99 5d, \*104 11c viii 9 1c, 21 18c,  
 35 16a 17a 18a, \*48 2d, 52 8c, 53 3c, 89 3c ix 72 6b, 88 6d  
 107 10c x 3 2d, 5 7d, [6 2d] 7 5b \*10 8b \*10c, \*18 12b 31 9a  
 \*32 9b 39 8c 45 8c, 47 8b 48 11d, \*56 4c \*6a, 66 10a, 69 2c, 73 3d,  
 74 3a 6d, 76 1a, \*87 14d, 69 4a 7b [9d 17a, \*94 11a, \*95 3a, 96 5c,  
 105 7c, 106 8a, \*108 11a, \*120 3d \*5c \*7a \*7b, \*121 8c, 148 3a,  
 172 4b.

§ 189 L

§ 147 III.

§ 142 III a.

<sup>4</sup> § 177 III

<sup>5</sup> § 148 VII.

§ 142 L

<sup>7</sup> reading *offensum*, § 170 II c

217 The opening is frequently defective by one syllable and  
 in such cases it is a convenient assumption, agreeable to analogy  
 if not strictly proved that the defect is caused by a rest at the  
 fourth place. The instances are discussed in § 228

Hypersyllabic openings are not permissible except in the 'hybrid' verse, for which see § 229. The only other examples which require explanation are as follows

<i>ghrtāsya vibhīṣṭam</i>    <i>ānu vasti śociṣā</i>	i 127 1f
<i>ā catvāriṃśatā</i>    <i>hāribhir yuyānāh</i>	ii 18 5b
<i>yā indro hārivān</i>    <i>nā dabhanti tām rīpal</i>	vii 32 12c
<i>manyōr mānasah</i>    <i>saravyā jāyate yā</i>	*x 87 13c
<i>yāsmi āyuhavān</i>    <i>bhūvanāni viśvā</i>	*x 88 9b

218 Almost all the forms of the break are of historical importance but considerations of space make it impossible to give full lists of the occurrences of the normal and subnormal forms. The list already given in § 95 ii shews the hymns in which the cretic variation is most prominent

Occurrences of the iambic forms in connexion with secondary caesura have been enumerated above (§ 213)

All the remaining occurrences of iambic forms, and all the occurrences of irregular forms, indicate early date, except that the history of the form  $\cup$  ||  $-\cup$  is to some extent parallel to that of the secondary caesura

It is difficult to define precisely the pause after the eighth syllable and where it is very weak it has seemed desirable to include the examples under this heading rather than above, in spite of the fact that the principal caesura itself is sometimes very slight (§ 205 i)

The following are examples of verses so included in this section

<i>hōtā tām ū</i>    <i>nāmobhar ā kinudhvam</i>	i 77 2b
<i>pūrukhūta</i>    <i>pū ūvaso 'sunaghnāh</i>	vi 22 4d

(1) The following are the occurrences of the iambic break  $\cup$  ||  $-\cup$  without secondary caesura i 33 12a 14d, 36 12a 16c, 40 4a, 48 †8a<sup>1</sup>, 56 3a, 62 10d, [67 9b], 77 2b, 79 1d, 89 4a, 91 3c †23b<sup>2</sup>, 92 14c 18c, 120 6b, 122 9b, 135 5a †9a<sup>3</sup>, 149 2a, 174 4b, 181 1b, 186 6d, 190 6d, ii 20 2b, 26 1b 2b, 33 2b, 38 10b<sup>11</sup>, iii 1 15c, iv 6 5a, 12 2b, 16 7c, 20 8a, 27 4c, 29 4d, 35 7c, 37 4a, 42 4a, v 4 7b, 33 †6d<sup>4</sup>, 45 3c 11c, 46 8a, 53 2c 6c, 87 3c 7b 9b, vi 10 3b, 12 3d, 15 14d, 20 10b, 22 4d<sup>5</sup>, 23 1a 10c, 25 2d, 26 1c 4d, 29 5d, 34 2b, 35 1a 1b 4a, 37 5c, 44 15c, 46 8c, 47 20d, 48 8c, 60 3b, 66 2c, 68 4a, vii 4 6b, 16 6c, 18 2d, 19 10a, 20 10c, 21 5b, 27 2d<sup>6</sup> 3d, 31 12a, 56 15c 17c, 74 4c, 81 4a, 82 †2a<sup>2</sup>, 86 8b, 92 4b, 97 4c, viii 4 1c 16c, 18 10c, 19 5b 11b 13b 20a 28b, 21 †12c<sup>7</sup>, 23 6c 15c, 26 4c †7c<sup>8</sup>, 27 13c, 29 3a 4a 5a †6a<sup>1</sup>, 33 2c, 46 17b, 70 8c, 97 14b<sup>9</sup>, 103 12b 13a, ix 68 9a, 84 1d, 90 2b, 97 44a 53b, 108 9b 10a 10c, 110 1a, x [6 5b], 31 10d, 44 5a, 48 3d, 50 1b, 61 26c, 62 6c, 79 5b 6d, \*95 8d \*11b, 99 5a, 113 6b, \*120 5b, \*130 1d, \*142 4b, 144 5c 6c, 160 5b<sup>10</sup>

For the occurrences connected with 'secondary caesura' see § 213 iii

<sup>1</sup> § 169 iii	<sup>2</sup> § 151 iii	<sup>3</sup> § 170 ii f	<sup>4</sup> § 166 vi b	<sup>5</sup> § 166 iv
<sup>6</sup> § 167 i	<sup>7</sup> § 178	<sup>8</sup> § 174 i a	<sup>9</sup> § 224	<sup>10</sup> § 145 v
				<sup>11</sup> § 142 i

(ii) The iambic break  $\cup$  -  $\cup$  even apart from secondary caesura, is very much more common, occurring as follows: 1 31 1a, 33 3c 15c, 34 4d 52 2d 53 10b, 55 3c, 58 3c, 59 1a 3c [61 1c 14c 16b] 77 5d 79 5c, 84 20a, 85 4b 11d 87 3b 5d 6d, 88 2d 91 4b 18d 100 4a 16d 101 8c, 108 11b, 111 2a 2b 2c 3b 5a, 116 1b 2a 3a 8c 9c 12b, 117 14a 129 4b 8a 122 5b 13c, 124 4a, 127 6b, 128 4b 7b, 131 4a 5a 7a, 133 6f 141 10b, 149 2b 153 4b, 155 1b 1d, 156 1b 4b, \*164 11d, 165 15b 168 3c, 169 6a 8a, 173 11d 12a, 177 5b, 180 5b<sup>1</sup> 181 5c 6c, 181 13c, 4 4c, [11 3a 4c 13a 15a 17a 17b] 14 6b 15 8b 8c, 17 1a 1d 8c, 18 2c, 20 1a, 24 3b 10c, 2, 12b 31 3b, 33 10a, 35 5c. *ii* 1 14b 17b 18d 20b, 2 6b 11b, 3 9c 11a, 6 10a, 8 8d 15 3c, 9 2a, 35 2d 53 1c 14a, 56 7c, 60 7d. *iv* 1 6c 6d 3 1a, 4 5b, 6 1a 7d 7 1b 8a 16 2a 14d 17 19b, \*18 2d 21 6b 8a, 23 3a, 28 5b, 34 3d, 37 2d 55 2a. *v* 1 1a, 4 1b, 8 7c, 9, 2a, 28 3b, 39 9a, 31 2c 3b 12a, 33 4b, 36 2b 2c 41 4d 10a 10c 14a, 43 14d, 44 11c 45 3a 7a, 46 2b, 48 3b, 49 4c, \*83 1d. *vi* 4 6a, 12 4a 4d, 13 2a 15 3b 5c, 17 11d 19 3d, 20 5d 22 10c, 23 1b 6d 24 4c 6a 9c, 26 5a, 31 2a 4b 33 3b, 31 3a 3, 2d 38 5d, 41 5a, 42 4c, 44 12b, 46 1c 2a 5c 14c, 47 22a, 63 4a, 66 1b, 68 6a, \*74 3b. *vii* 1 16c 18b 20a 23b, 2 7a, 3 3d 5b 5d, 4 7c, 6 2c, 7 1c 3b, 14 2c, 17 7b 18 10d, 19 5a 9b 20 6b, 21 4a 7d 8b 23 2a, 24 6a, 26 5a, 28 3a 30 1d 32 4c, \*33 2c, 36 3b, 37 4b 8b, 39 3d 4a, 43 1a 2a 2c 2d, 52 2c, 56 29b, 57 1c, 58 2c, 60 7d, 62 2b, 67 6a 6b 70 7b, 81 4c, 85 2a 3d, 86 1b, 87 1a, 88 3b, 92 2a 3a 3d 99 7a, \*101 17a. *viii* 1 5c 17c, 3 12a, 4 20a, 18 15c, 19 2c 10a, 20 9b 20a 20c, 21 8c, 22 15b, 26 8c 15c, 60 3c, 70 12c, 90 4c, 96 1a, 97 15a 15c, \*100 2d 23c, 193 1c 4c. *ix* 70 3c 5a 9a 9b, 71 2a 4b, 78 3c, 86 3d 5a 34b, 92 3c, 93 3a, 94 1d 96 10b 97 19a 21d, 108 16a 110 1c. *x* [1 4d], 2 4c, [6 4d], 7 5b 5c, 8 2c 7d 8a, \*10 1c, \*12 6d, \*13 5b, 31 10a, 32 4d, 35 1a, 3, 1d 6c, 39 14c 40 6d, 47 8a, 48 1b 7a, 50 3d 7d, \*51 3b \*8d, 56 2b<sup>2</sup> \*59 1c \*6c, 61 4c 5a 8a 24a, 67 10b, 73 2c 7d 10c 10d, 76 7d, 77 8a, 78 [6b] 7d, 79 1b, \*83 7b, 89 14a 15b 17a, 92 3d 6d, 93 10b 15a, \*94 7c \*8c, \*95 6d \*13a, 96 9d 10a, 105 7c, 106 7b, 112 8c, 115 5b, 116 6b, \*121 8c, 123 2d 6b, 132 5d, 144 2c, \*165 3c<sup>3</sup> \*181 1a.

For instances connected with secondary caesura see § 213 i.

<sup>1</sup> reading *amphibola* the instances should be added to those on p. 30 (A 13)  
<sup>2</sup> § 178. <sup>3</sup> § 142 ii. <sup>4</sup> but see § 177 iii. § 81 A 13.

(iii) The iambic break -  $\cup$  -  $\cup$ , apart from secondary caesura, occurs as follows: 1 34 11c, 40 1c, 48 6c, 55 1c 1d 4b 7a 7b, 62 3d, 85 8d 11b 88 4c, 91 20d, 92 15c, 96 6b, 103 3a, 111 3c, 112 11a, 113 7c, 121 14a, 122 10c, 133 6b, 139 3a, 152 11 153 3d, 157 4c, 158 3a, \*164 24b, 168 1b 169 74c 4d 6d 171 6a, 173 5b 6d 12b<sup>1</sup> 174 2b, 180 6d, 184 4b. *ii* 2 12b, 4 3a 4d, [11 9d 13c], 13 9b, 16 2b 19 4d 5b, 20 1b 5c, 23 7d, 31 2d. *iii* 2 5d, 5 3a, 23 1a. *iv* 6 8b 10d, 16 11d 17 11d 23 4d 29 4a, 38 3c. *v* 33 2b 4c, 41 1b 5c 7a 7d 8a 18c 53 14c<sup>2</sup>. *vi* 4 2a 3b, 10 5d, 11 3a 5d 15 3c 14b, 18 5c, 20 10c, 36 6a, 39 1c 4d, 38 1a, 50 6a 11d 51 10d, 60 3a, 63 9b, 67 5c, 68 2a. *vii* 7 5a 6a, 8 3d, 18 13a, 21 3d, 30 2b 39 1b 3b, 43 1d 43 5a, 61 3c, 66 13c, 67 7d 68 4a, 70 4a, 75 5a, 86 1d, 101 1c. *viii* 4 8c, 5 38c, 19 3a 6a, 31 18a, 22 10a, 25 12c<sup>3</sup> 46 26c, 70 3c, 77 10c, \*100 5b. *ix* 68 8b, 70 5d, 73 5b, 86 17c 42d, 88 6c, 94 1a 1b 13c<sup>4</sup> /



104 5c, x \*10 13c, \*12 3b, 35 5a, 41 2d, 62 7a, 76 8d, 93 12b,  
\*107 10a, \*120 3b, 123 2b, 144 5a<sup>7</sup>, 148 5b, \*149 4a, \*170 4d

For instances connected with 'secondary caesura' see § 213 iv

<sup>1</sup> § 169 iii      <sup>2</sup> § 136 ii      <sup>3</sup> § 151 iii      <sup>4</sup> § 178      <sup>5</sup> § 145 iv  
<sup>6</sup> § 170 ii f      <sup>7</sup> § 145 vi

(iv) Of the irregular forms of the break  $\parallel \cup - -$  is by far the most common the occurrences are spread not very unevenly over the whole Rigveda, as follows i \*24 1d \*2d, 40 4c, 48 8c, 52 4d, 54 11c, 71 8b, 83 3c, 91 2b 2c, 108 11a, 112 9c 114 11b, 116 7c 18a, 120 8b 9b 9c, 122 7d 15a, 127 8b, 132 1b<sup>1</sup>, 134 1f, 135 4a 5f, 140 8c, 141 12a, 143 6c, 149 3c, \*161 5a \*9c \*12d<sup>2</sup>, \*162 11d, 165 13b 13d, \*170 5c, 184 2d, 186 1c, 190 6b, ii 1 9d 16a, 4 1a 6c, 18 4a, 19 1b 2d 6d, 20 3d, 31 4b, 34 6d 7d, 37 1b 2b, iii 2 4a, 21 5c, 22 3c, 30 15c, 31 8d, 33 12d, 35 9c, \*53 21d, iv 3 3b<sup>3</sup>, 5 6b, 16 16c 18d, 21 6a, 23 4c, 24 5b \*9c, 28 5d, 29 1d 2c 4c, 39 3a, 42 5a †10a<sup>3</sup>, 54 3b, 55 2b, \*57 5a, v 2 11c, 30 3a, 33 8c, 36 5d, 41 4b 17a, 45 4a 11d, 51 11a, vi 10 6a, 12 1a, 19 9d 10d, 20 5c 11d, 23 4b 7a, 24 4d 10c, 26 5b 7c, 29 4c, 35 2d, 46 7c, \*47 29c, 66 4b, 67 5d, 68 2b, 73 2d, vii 7 6c, 12 1b, 18 11b 22b<sup>4</sup>, 27 5b, 32 5c, 37 2c, 41 2d, 48 3c, 67 4b, 68 5b 7b 7c, 81 3c 6c, \*103 2c, \*104 24a, viii 1 16c, 4 3c, 19 29a, 20 8c, 22 18a, 23 16c 21c, 25 5c, 26 13c<sup>5</sup>, 33 5c, 46 16a, 53 6c, 61 8a, 66 2a 10a, 70 5c, ix 69 7b, 83 1d, 88 3a, 91 6c, 97 52a, 103 2c 3c, 110 2a †12c<sup>1</sup>, x 2 7c, 3 6c 7d, \*14 15c, \*15 10c, 23 2c 5a, \*27 10b, 30 2a, 42 7d, 48 2d 11a, 50 5a, \*53 6b, 61 13d 22c, 63 11b, 64 16d, 79 4d, 80 7b, 99 6b, 106 1b, \*107 6a, \*130 7a<sup>6</sup>, 131 2d, 150 5a, \*169 2a

Of these occurrences about one-third are in verses in which there is a pause after the eighth syllable. As this proportion is normal, the variation appears not to be connected with secondary caesura.

<sup>1</sup> § 169 iii      <sup>2</sup> § 171 iv      <sup>3</sup> but see § 178      <sup>4</sup> but perhaps *vadhūmantah*,  
cf § 168 ii      <sup>5</sup> § 170 i      <sup>6</sup> § 177 i

(v) The irregular break  $\parallel - - \cup$  occurs as follows i 36 17c, 40 8a, 55 7d, 83 4d, 88 4b, 121 12d, 133 7a 7f, 139 8b, 145 4b, 167 10b, 173 7c<sup>1</sup>, 186 2a, ii 3 5b, 9 5a, 19 2b, iii 4 4d 8c, 59 2d, iv 3 7a, 11 4a, 17 3c, 28 3b, 41 9c, v 31 12d, 33 3b, 41 12a, 53 1b, vi 13 2d, 26 7a, 44 15b, 73 1c, vii 1 19c, 42 6b, 56 16d, 62 2d, 71 4d, viii 19 34c, 20 11b, 23 2c 28c, 24 24c, 25 6c, 27 22a, 46 5b, 63 12d, ix 72 8b, 74 2d<sup>2</sup>, 88 6b, x \*18 5d, \*28 7c, [46 4b], 49 10c, 55 6b, 73 3c, 80 1a, \*120 5a

This variation was treated above (§ 94 v) as iambic but as it is very rare and has no connexion with the secondary caesura, it now seems better to treat it as irregular. It is most common in the archaic period

<sup>1</sup> § 151 i      <sup>2</sup> § 169 iii

(vi) The irregular break  $\parallel - - -$  appears not only to be in itself unhythmic, but also directly contrary to the normal rhythm after early caesura. It is somewhat more common than might be expected under the circumstances. It is possible that some quantitative explanation may be found in the case of the word *ādityā*, which occurs

rather frequently in this position, but in no other case does any particular word or form come in question. The occurrences are i 91  
6c 103 7h, 112 11c 11a 1a, 116 2a, 1 1 8a, 111 8c \*161 6a \* c  
113 4d 1 8c 17 6a 1b 1b, 19 1d a- 1g 2g 3g 21 8a, 27 1a 3b 4a  
111 24 1a 31 c, 33 8d 11 16 3c 18 1c 20 5d 1v 1 2d  
11 3b, 16 9d 21 10c 34 8a 43 1d v 41 15h, 51 15d 69 9d, 77  
1a vi 20 2d 8c 70 1a, 70 1-1h, 51 11d 18 9c vii 88 6c 101  
aa, 101 2c viii 4 11a, 20 11h, 2 18c 23 30c 21 18c 23c 20 1c  
26 2 c 27 20 20 9a, 76 7h, 7 1h 51 2a 60 10a 20a, 70 17c 96 16a  
\*100 1-1h ix 81 1c 100 17c x [1 6d], 7 5c \*12 2d \*1a \*15 2a  
48 2a x 4c 11 1h, 4 6h, \*10 11b, 10 3c 108 10a, 111 2d  
115 9d 9c 160 aa, \*169 1b \*31a

\* a dirty (10 occurrence)

(vii) All the irregular forms are much rarer when the caesura is late. In a somewhat large proportion of the instances there is only a doubtful caesura, following the prior element of a compound—these instances are given separately and are not included in the Table in § 213 under this heading.

(a) Form  $\cup \cup$ —(in addition to occurrences in compounds for which see below) i 62 9d 83 11 1 7 5f 139 3b, 1 1 8d 189 7d  
ii 4 4b, 19 7d (1 171 8d) 3, 4c iii 5 1h 20 6a v 3  
12a vi 8 1c 20 2c x 30 13a, 5b 6b 61 14d, 62 3b 62 1c  
10 8c 139 2a

(b) Form  $\cup \cup$ —1 60 4a, [61 2d 9d], 62 1d [70 10b], 85 2d  
93 6h, 1 14a, 161 11h, 173 8d 180 10a, 186 9d 189 3a ii 1  
1d, 13 13c, 18 8c 21 6c 23 121 iii 2 3d 17 3a 70 9d iv 1 1-1d  
22 7b 29 3d v 41 14c 4 15b 44 31 vi 27 6d, 31 3c 61 6d  
71 1c vii 19 11c 28 2d \*2 13c 41 3d 90 1c viii 21 1h, 7  
7c 2 15c, 61 9c, 96 15d ix 80 42a, 90 11 108 14a x 8 5c,  
45 4c, 61 6a, 93 8a 100 12a

(c) Form  $\cup g$ —1 [61 121], 173 9c ii 20 8c 31 1 iv 29  
3a v 41 6d vi 26 1b 3h, 48 14c vii 1 4a, 20 4a, 40 6c 61  
b 67 3h, 70 6d x 3 5a 23 3d, \*20 9c \*28 10a

(d) Form  $\cup \cup$ —1 [61 11], 127 1a 169 7a ii 19 a, 2 16d  
iii 6 6c vi 26 8a, 46 12c, 63 3b vii 46 1h, 66 23b viii 19  
3b 35a, 25 21c, 51 8a, 90 7c ix 103 5c x 61 25d, 66 3a 71 4h,  
79 2c, 93 1a, \*140 1b.

The same forms occur in compounds as follows  $\cup \cup \cup$ —i 30 16c  
58 8b ii 19 8a iv 1 4c 6b 8h, 3 1b 23 3a, 33 81 vi 2 11a,  
16 40c, 90 78c 13d 33 4d 68 7d \*vii 66 16a viii 66 6c ix 72  
4a, 83 5c, 86 40c x 48 8h, \*85 37a  $\cup \cup \cup$ —i 60 5c viii 61 14a  
 $\cup \cup$ —1 [61 4d] 61 3b, 122 2a, 129 4h, 148 1b x 22 10a, 10a 11d  
11a

but see § 174 ff.

§ 115 ff c

\* reading *katridibham*.

219 The principal syllabic variations connected with the break are the rests and hybrid verses both of which are con

sidered below in §§ 225–230 Hypersyllabic breaks are very rare in the R̥gveda the following apparent examples occur, and require to be removed by emendation

<i>tēgsthābhū</i>    <i>arānibhū dāstī āvase</i>	i	127	4b
<i>hatvī dāsyūn</i>    <i>pūra āyasr nī tārīt</i>	ii	20	8d
<i>āsmā vayām</i>    <i>yād vāvāna tād vvaṣma</i>	vi	23	5a
<i>hōtān o nā</i>    <i>dvayāgo mandī ātamāh</i>	ix	97	26d

**220** The variations of the cadence in trimeter verse follow the same general laws which we find at work in normal dimeter verse Short syllables take the place of long much more freely than *vice versa*, and these variations are also continued to a later period

Thus the short eighth syllable in its various forms is not only found in the archaic and strophic periods, but also in the hymns of Vāmadeva. Of the remaining variations again the short tenth syllable is much the most common but both this and the remaining forms are almost confined to the archaic period

A long ninth syllable is comparatively frequent in Pentad hymns, and marks the divergence of this metre from the parent Tristubh see further § 249 ii

Examples of a long eleventh syllable are hard to find in any part of the R̥gveda

The occurrences of the quantitative variations of the cadence are as follows

(i) Short eighth syllable (in addition to the examples enumerated in § 213)

(a) Final vowels i \*24 14a, 39 4a, 51 15b, 53 2b, 71 6b, 72 6a, 77 1c, 96 4b, 100 10a, 101 1d, 103 5d, 104 1a, 112 19a, 120 2b, 121 4d 10a, 127 7a 10f, 129 6f, 131 1a, 133 7b, 138 3f, 145 †1b<sup>1</sup>, 147 4c, 148 5d, 150 2c, 152 2b, \*161 10c \*13b, \*162 †19a<sup>1</sup>, 165 13d 15a, 166 12d, 167 10b 10c, 174 6b 8c, 183 4c, 186 10c, 189 5a, ii 1 5d, 4 8a, 14 3b, 30 2b, 32 1c, 33 †13c<sup>1</sup>, iii 2 7b 9b, 18 2c, 19 4a, 31 21c, 38 4a, 46 4c, 51 3d<sup>2</sup>, iv 2 1a 6d 7d<sup>1</sup> 12a 19a, 3 7b, 4 6d 7c 12d 15d, 5 †5d<sup>1</sup> †14c<sup>5</sup>, 6 1d 4d, 7 8c, 16 1b 4d, 21 1a, 23 4c 7b, 24 4d, 27 4b, 34 3a 5a 5d, 35 8b, 36 5d, 39 3a, 42 4b, 43 4c, 45 4b, 55 2b 5b<sup>6</sup> 5d 6d, 57 2c, v 1 6c, 2 8a 10d, 3 12b, 31 5c, 33 1b 6b, 41 9d 11c, 44 4b, 46 2c, 49 4b, vi 1 2d 3b, 10 2b, 12 1c, 13 2c, 17 †9a<sup>1</sup> 14a, 19 2d, 21 8c 8d, 23 5b, 24 10a, 25 1c 3a<sup>7</sup>, 29 6d, 33 5b, 34 1c, 37 2b, 38 5a, 40 3d 4c, 44 21c, 50 4b 15c, 51 9b, 66 4a 4b 7b 10d, 67 5d 7c 11a, 72 2a 5a vii 1 8a 13b 15b<sup>8</sup> 18c 19c, 3 2a 5a, 6 4a, 17 7b, 18 1b, 24 1a, 25 2b, 29 2d, 32 5c 18c, \*33 †2d<sup>1</sup>, 40 4a, 41 7a, 42 3b, 43 5c, 53 2b, 56 15a, 59 2c 8c, 61 5d, 79 †4c<sup>1</sup>, 82 9c, 86 3a, 87 7b, viii 1 28c, 4 21a, 19 10c 18a †24a<sup>1</sup> 24c 25b, 20 2a 8c, 21 1b, 22 13b 14a, 23 29c,

24 24c 27 7c 16a, \*48 5a, 52 1c, \*30 4b 60 15c 61 8a, 66 3c, 70 4c, 96  
 21a<sup>1</sup> ix 79 1c 5c, 61 2d, 84 2a, 86 42b, 88 5c, 69 3a, 97 38b, 105  
 6c, 106 13b, 110 2a x [1 6c], \*10 13a, \*12 7d, 22 3a 8a 15b, \*34  
 †8c<sup>2</sup> [46 2d], 46 2a 6b 8d, 50 2a \*53 3a, 61 5b 6b 13d 20c 22d, 05  
 11d 0 0d, 76 8a, \*62 4c, \*84 7d, 89 11a, 92 2a, 93 5b, 99 1a 8a, 104  
 4b, 115 9b 9d 9c, \*120 9a 132 3c 3d, 148 4d 150 2c, 176 †1d<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> § 151 L.      <sup>2</sup> final vowel of prior element in compound.      <sup>3</sup> § 166 III.  
<sup>4</sup> § 142 v.      § 175 II.      § 151 II.      § 222 L.      § 230 L.      § 237 III c  
<sup>5</sup> § 178.

(b) Final syllables ending in a consonant i 32 6b, 36 11c, 77 5a,  
 60 2a, 112 9a 15a, 114 1d, 117 22c, 121 7a, 122 9d, 127 4f, 128 1f 4f  
 130 10d, 152 6a 6d 153 3a, 156 4a 5b, \*161 5b \*7c \*13a, \*103 2d  
 \*164 2c \*23b, 167 10d, 169 5b 182 8b, 160 4a ii 1 2b 4 7b, 15  
 7c, 19 7a, 30 6d, 37 2a 4c, 40 6c iii 1 15d, 5 7b, 19 1b 2c, 30 3b  
 13b, 31 4b 8d, 36 4d, 53 15d, 54 1c, 60 2c iv 2 7b 9d 11d 4 9b,  
 6 2d 3b, 7 7d, 11 1a 5d, 16 5a 11a, 17 20b, 19 3a, 23 7a, 24 1d, 38 7a,  
 42 9a 51 6b, \*58 11a v 1 2d, 2 1d 3 12a, 29 2c, 34 2a, 48 4c, 51  
 11b 54 12d 56 1c 5c, 87 4a vi 3 3a, 15 1a, 34 5b 44 16b, 61 1a,  
 92 6d, 67 6b vii 1 1a 1c, 19 5d, 20 1c, 21 5d 25 5b 36 3d 4c 5c,  
 38 6b, 40 4c, 45 3c, 52 3b, 56 31a, 61 3b, 73 8a, 75 1c, 64 2d, 92 1c,  
 93 6a, 98 3b, 100 5c, \*104 12c viii \*1 33d, 3 20a, 19 3b, 21 4a 9b,  
 23 7c 8c 16c, 25 3c 5c, 40 12b, \*48 3c, 51 2a, 53 5c, \*59 7a ix 70  
 8a, 73 1d 3d, 74 2d 84 2c, 86 18c 31b, 92 5d, 94 4a, 97 10c, 103 5c,  
 110 6b x [6 1a 1c], \*12 1d \*8c, \*37 3c, 31 4d 48 2b, 50 8b, \*56  
 4b 61 5d 6a 7a 7d 13c, 60 10a, 74 3d, [78 6d], 91 10b, 92 14c \*94 4c,  
 99 1d, \*107 1b 115 5d \*117 7d, 124 1b, \*139 4c, 136 4b, \*149 4a.

(c) Syllables not final i 36 16c, 39 10c, 47 1c, 48 8c, 56 6a 6c,  
 [61 1c, 66 4b], 83 4a, 87 2a, 88 2c 6a, 91 33b, 96 1d = 2d = 3d, 100 6c,  
 111 4a, 112 5a 15c, 118 7d, 121 8d<sup>1</sup> 122 11d 126 4c, 134 3b, 138 1f,  
 144 7c, 145 4b, 149 3c, 151 1d, 154 2c, 156 1c, 160 1a, 173 13b<sup>2</sup> 174  
 9a, \*179 1b, 186 6d iii 5 2b, 6 0b, 20 5d 30 10c iv 0 1c 9c,  
 16 16c, 17 3d 14b, 23 6d, 34 2d, 29 2b 4c, 33 1c, 35 7a, 41 9c v 27  
 3b, 30 14b, 41 17a, 45 7a, 53 3c, 56 3c 6c vi 0 5a, 11 1c<sup>3</sup> 12 5d,  
 15 2a, 20 5c 11a, 23 10c, 25 5d, 46 13c 14c, 40 6b 50 6a, 52 15a, 63  
 3b 6c 7d, 66 4c, 68 1c 2c, \*75 7a vii 4 2c<sup>4</sup> 12 1d, 19 10a, 38 2a,  
 \*49 1b viii 1 10c 30c, 4 1c 14a, 15 9c, 19 12a 29a, 20 11b, 23 9c  
 11c, 24 23c, 25 7c, 26 7c 8c, 29 9a, 33 9c 11c 13c, 49 10a, 53  
 4c, 54 6a, 70 1c, 97 14a ix 81 1c, 88 3d 4c, 103 2c, 108 10a,  
 111 3f x 2 7c, \*13 3c, 23 3d, 31 7c, 48 9b, 49 11a, \*56 4d, 64 5c  
 69 9c, 79 2a, \*83 3b \*88 6c, 89 4a, 93 8a 14b, \*94 10b, \*95 4a \*13a,  
 \*101 3b 105 3c 115 2d 7a, \*120 6a, \*130 7a, 144 2c 5a, 148 1a, 160  
 1b, \*164 3a.

<sup>1</sup> § 151 L.<sup>2</sup> § 151 III.<sup>3</sup> § 150 L.

(d) It will be convenient to record here the instances in which a  
 final vowel in the eighth place is protracted or otherwise of doubtful  
 quantity namely i 31 5c, 32 5c, 33 13b 48 12c, 73 9b, 94 1b  
 1d = 2d = 3d 4a, 116 24a 117 31c, 132 1b 1f, 145 1a, \*164 30d \*38b  
 165 7c, 189 3a<sup>1</sup> ii 2 10b, 9 3c, 23 13d 36 2a 33 2d 4a, 37 3b  
 in 31 12c, 32 2c, 33 10a 53 5b, 60 5b iv [10 1d], \*18 5b, 34  
 8c, 39 3d, \*58 2a \*2b v 1 5d, 3 6a, 42 6b, 45 5b 6a 5d vi 1

6b 9c, 25 3d<sup>1</sup>, 32 2a, 41 5c, [44 9c<sup>1</sup>], vii 1 3a<sup>1</sup>, 18 17b 24b, 25 2a<sup>1</sup> 2c<sup>1</sup>, 27 5b, 57 4c, \*103 2d, viii 15 12c, 29 2a, \*48 9b, 60 6a<sup>1</sup>, ix 70 2b 9d, 80 1c 4d, 84 5d, 90 4b, 91 4b<sup>1</sup>, 96 17c, 97 44b 44d, x 2 2c, 5 5b, \*42 10d, 56 3a, 63 10d 14d, 67 6b, 80 7b, \*88 4b, 111 1c 2c 2d 4c, 112 3d, \*139 4b, 148 1d, \*180 1c \*2b, \*181 1d

<sup>1</sup> Imperative in -dhi, -hi

(ii) Short tenth syllable i 36 10a 12a, 39 3c, 57 3d, 58 2a<sup>1</sup> 4d<sup>1</sup>, 60 4c<sup>2</sup>, [61 1d<sup>3</sup>], 62 3d 5a, [70 9a], 77 3b<sup>4</sup>, 85 3c, 87 5d, 89 1c \*10c<sup>5</sup>, 91 21c, 100 16c<sup>4</sup>, 103 4d, 104 3b, 111 3a, 112 11a, 121 1a 9d, 122 10d<sup>8</sup> 11d, 126 1c, 127 3f 4b<sup>6</sup> 5f<sup>1</sup> 7b 9f<sup>1</sup>, 129 1b 6f 10b<sup>6</sup>, 134 3a, 135 4a<sup>6</sup>, 140 13c, 141 12b<sup>4</sup>, 143 3d<sup>4</sup>, 145 2d, 149 1b<sup>3</sup>, 158 5a<sup>3</sup>, 166 2a, 167 1b<sup>3</sup> 2c 5b, 168 2a, 169 5a<sup>3</sup>, 173 7c<sup>6</sup> 8d<sup>5</sup> 11b, 174 9a, 181 1b, 186 2d 8c<sup>4</sup> 9c, ii 1 3b 10a, 2 9d, 4 1b 3d<sup>2</sup>, 19 1b 1d 3a 6a 6c, 20 1b<sup>4</sup> 2b<sup>5</sup> 6b<sup>3</sup>, 26 †4c<sup>7</sup>, 29 1a, 30 1c 6a, 35 11b, iii 1 5c, 2 5d, 20 5d, \*29 7c, 46 2d<sup>5</sup>, iv 1 2b 19c, 2 14c, 4 3a<sup>3</sup> 10c, 12 1b, 13 3a, 16 1b 20b<sup>4</sup>, 17 18a, 34 †1d<sup>10</sup>, 38 9a<sup>5</sup>, 39 2d, v 2 1d 4c 7b, 31 5c<sup>4</sup>, 33 2d<sup>6</sup> 3b 5a 5b<sup>4</sup> 10c, 37 3b, 41 4d<sup>1</sup> 10d 15d 16e, 53 1b, 57 6d, 87 6a 9a, vi 1 12c, 3 6b, 4 7d<sup>2</sup>, 8 5c<sup>1</sup>, 10 5d<sup>5</sup> 6a, 11 4d<sup>5</sup>, 13 1b 1d 2a 5d, 15 3b 5d<sup>1</sup>, 17 12b, 19 6a, 20 1b<sup>5</sup> 1d 3b, 24 3a 3c 4b 7c 10b 10c, 25 1a 6a, 29 4d<sup>3</sup>, 33 3d<sup>3</sup> 5d<sup>3</sup>, 37 4b<sup>3</sup> 5b, 38 1a<sup>3</sup>, 40 5a, 44 11d, 48 4c<sup>6</sup> 18a, 49 12d 15c<sup>5</sup>, 50 2a 3a 7c<sup>3</sup> 11a, 51 11b<sup>5</sup>, 62 5a<sup>1</sup> 9a, 63 3b<sup>3</sup>, 64 5b, 65 2b<sup>4</sup>, 66 5a 7b<sup>4</sup>, 67 1a<sup>3</sup> 3c<sup>5</sup> 11d, 68 5d<sup>6</sup> 7d, vii 3 5b, 32 10c, 34 24b, 42 4c<sup>2</sup>, \*50 4a, 69 7c, 76 1d, 92 1a, 93 5c 6a, 101 2a, \*103 10a, viii 1 16c<sup>8</sup> 30c, 15 10c, 18 15c, 19 4c 14a 23b 32b<sup>6</sup>, 20 20a, 21 2c, 22 16c<sup>6</sup>, 25 10c, 27 5c, 36 4a, 61 4c<sup>6</sup> 8c 17c, 66 10a, 70 2a<sup>6</sup> 8c, 71 15c, 97 10c, ix 70 3c 5d, 79 1b, 88 1c, 89 3b, 93 4a, 94 1a 1b 3a, 96 2c 4b 15c, 97 1b 26d<sup>3</sup>, 104 2c, 108 10c 14a, x [1 7a], 3 1c 5b 6a 6c<sup>3</sup>, [6 6c<sup>3</sup>], 12 4c, 22 4a, 39 14b<sup>4</sup>, 50 3a 5a 6b, 61 1a, 65 12d, 68 3a 11c, 74 2d, 78 7d, 93 5b 9a, \*95 3d \*4b \*11c, \*98 3b, 99 4c 7b, 105 1a 7c 10c<sup>2</sup>, \*108 8a, 115 4a<sup>1</sup> 5b, \*129 †7b<sup>9</sup>, 148 4b, \*164 3a

<sup>1</sup> ajāna <sup>2</sup> dāma ā, or similar phrase <sup>3</sup> superlative in tama <sup>4</sup> rātha  
<sup>5</sup> jāna <sup>6</sup> āvase or āvasā <sup>7</sup> text rakṣati risāh (§ 175 i) rākṣatīm is a quite  
 probable correction <sup>8</sup> § 151 i <sup>9</sup> supplying dādhe <sup>10</sup> § 175 i

(iii) Long ninth syllable i 58 9b, [61 5c 5d 6a, 65 7a 10b, 66 5b 10a, 67 1b 3a 5b 8b 10a, 68 2a 4c 6c, 69 1b], 92 6d, 106 4b, 117 4c 8b, 121 3c<sup>1</sup>, 122 6c 12c 15c, 151 5b, \*162 10c, 180 7a, 186 3d, ii 4 2d, 19 6b, iii 4 3c, 5 2a, 14 7a, 23 3c, iv 2 2d 5a, 16 2b, 21 10a, 26 6d, 38 2a 5c, 41 4b 11c, 43 1c, v 41 7a 14d 18c, 44 12b, vi 3 8b, 18 3a, 20 13c, 24 9b, 25 2d 4b, 26 6a 8c, 27 5c, 29 6b, 35 1a, 47 9c, 50 2c, 63 9c, 68 3a, vii 2 1c, 8 6d, 28 4d, [34 11b 14b], 38 6a 7c, 42 1a, 52 3a, [56 5b 6a], 63 3c, 68 1c, 93 7b, viii 20 4a 24a, 22 15b, 24 26c, 26 24c, 46 26c, 60 8a, ix 93 1c, [109 3b 10a 11b 15a x 6 2b], \*11 8d, \*12 5c, 23 4b, 40 5b, [46 5b], 49 1d 9b, 50 4c, 55 8a, 73 9b, 74 1c, 76 2b, \*87 19c, 93 14a, 105 6a<sup>2</sup>, 106 5a, 115 5c, \*121 7b \*8b, \*165 3c

<sup>1</sup> tastāmbhat

<sup>2</sup> but see § 244 iii

(iv) Long eleventh syllable viii 25 17c, [x 78 3c]

(v) Long ninth syllable combined with some other irregularity

(α) - - ∪ ≅ or - - ∪ ∪ ≅, i 48 4c, 59 4a, 63 4a, [67 2b], 89 6a, 100 8c,

121 8c	122 10b	iii 58 6b	iv 26 6b	vi 29 2c, 63 2c, 68 2a
[ix 109 21a]		x 74 4c, 115 5a	(b) ∪ - - × or ∪ - - ∪ × i 1 <sup>92</sup>	
11a	vi 1 4d	4 4c, 11 3a	90 4a, 96 7a, 46 12c, 48 17c <sup>1</sup>	60 3a
	vii 21 9a	viii 22 9c	x [c 1b], 61 14d	*83 5c 93 7a, 133 7a,
*14 <sup>2</sup> 1b, *167 4d	(c) ∪ - ∪ × or ∪ - ∪ ∪ ×	v 41 5b		vi 12 6c
[ix 109 18b]		x 30 13a <sup>2</sup>	c1 9c 17a	

<sup>1</sup> § 151 L<sup>2</sup> see Metrical Comm

(vi) Long eleventh syllable combined with some other irregularity  
 i 168 1b u 92 1g = g = 3g viii 90 9b

221. We are now in a position to consider as a whole the employment of short syllables to bear the ictus—that is to say short syllables in positions in which long syllables are regularly required and which are immediately followed in each case by another short syllable within the same part of the verse. Short syllables are thus used in every possible position—that is in the second and sixth places in dimeter verse and in the second fourth eighth and tenth places in trimeter verse. Details are given in the Table below with regard to the second place; no distinction is made between dimeter and trimeter verse.

It first appears that in the archaic period these variations are about equally common in each position—that is to say the short vowel is found in about 3 per cent. of the verses. But even in this period there is a distinction in usage for in the second and eighth place the second syllable in half the instances contains a final vowel the proportion being much larger than chance can account for whereas in the fourth sixth and tenth places the short syllable is generally initial or medial.

Short syllables in the fourth sixth eighth and tenth places rapidly diminish in frequency after the archaic period though in varying degrees. To this there is only one exception short eighth syllables which contain a final consonant are more common in the strophic than in the archaic period. This is probably due to the influence of the secondary caesura (§ 213).

Short syllables in the second place only slightly diminish in frequency in the strophic, normal, and cretic periods and are again more common in the popular period. The relation between final short vowels and other short syllables remains uniform throughout. In this point therefore no historical development is perceptible within the period of the Rigveda.

It has appeared previously (§ 188) that in dimeter verse there is a distinct reduction in the number of irregular openings after the archaic period. This reduction seems not to extend to trimeter verse, apparently for the reason that a short third syllable is more common there. However the movement is on so small a scale that it does not seem to be worth while to pursue the matter further.

The table further shews that both in the 2nd and in the 8th place protraction is on the whole more common in the later periods than elsewhere. The details (proportionate to 5000 verses) have already been given in the table in § 180. Here again the movement is on so small a scale as to have little practical importance so far as it goes, it indicates that protraction is a secondary development, distinct alike from the shortening of original long syllables and the general license to throw the ictus on final short vowels, but much more closely akin to the latter.

**222** TABLE OF SHORT SYLLABLES BEARING THE ICTUS

Periods	Archaic	Strophic	Normal	Cretic	Popular
Second place (dim. and trim.)					
Final short vowels	14	12	12	11	16
Other short syllables	15	10	11	12	13
Protracted vowels	3	3	3	4	5
Fourth place (trim. late caesura)	26	14	14	15	17
Sixth place (dimeter)	38	24	17	19	13
Eighth place (trimeter)					
Final short vowels	19	13	9	4	4
Other final syllables	8	10	8	2	5
Other short syllables	12	9	3	4	4
Protracted vowels	4	4	4	6	4
Tenth place (trimeter)	30	7	5	4	4

The figures given above are proportionate to each 1000 verses of the same kind. For instance, the occurrences in the fourth place before late caesura are proportionate to the number of verses which contain a late caesura.

**223** The syllabic variations which affect the cadence are, like all other irregularities, much more common in the archaic period than in the normal groups. Indeed they are practically extinct not only in the normal period, but even in the Vasiṣṭha hymns. But in the cretic period and later their history is peculiar. 'Catalectic Jagatī' becomes common in the cretic period, and is still more so in the popular R̥gveda. 'extended Tristubh,' though unknown in the cretic period, is almost as common in the

popular hymns as catalectic Jagatī. Hypersyllabic verses however are not found in either of these periods.

The question therefore arises whether there is a direct historical connexion between the two former variations as occasionally found in the archaic period, and as frequently found in one or both of the later periods. Such a connexion seems highly improbable for extended Tristubh verses, in view of the great body of Tristubh verse in which no such variations are found but it cannot be so confidently denied for the catalectic Jagatī variation, since in the intervening periods very few hymns were composed in Jagatī metre at all. But so far as the evidence goes the catalectic Jagatī verse was equally extinct in this period.

We seem therefore entitled to distinguish two sets of phenomena, which accidentally take the same outward shape, namely (1) syllabic irregularity of the cadence marking the archaic period and (2) contamination (a) of Jagatī stanzas by Tristubh, marking the cretic and popular periods, and (b) of Tristubh stanzas by Jagatī marking the latter only.

In accordance with the presumed origin of the variations, instances of catalectic Jagatī are classified below as occurring (A) in lyric hymns, mostly in the archaic period, (B) elsewhere in the R̥gveda proper principally in the cretic period, and (C) in the popular R̥gveda.

Similarly extended Tristubh verses are classified as occurring (A) in the R̥gveda proper mostly in the archaic period, and (B) in the popular R̥gveda.

(1) Catalectic Jagatī is found in the second verse of stanza a (Kakubh) and in the second verse of stanza b (Jagatī) below

- (a) *mā no āyātām dhīkām*  
*udour agnīh puruprasādī sakh*  
*yā sukthā su-adhvārā* vii 103 12.
- (b) *adityam idā indrā varunā kṛtāyā vām*  
*indhava ūrmīn dhātā sapit vāyā*  
*dhīr dātādhīm avatāi suhās pati*  
*yō vām ādadhā abhī pati dūtībhih* viii 59 3

The use of the term Jagatī for the trimeter verses that occur in lyric metre is not in accordance with Indian usage, but seems convenient for the present purpose.

Catalectic Jagatī are found as follows (A) frequently in the uneven lyric hymns (§ 186) including vii 35 and in other lyric stanzas as follows: 1 36 12a, 39 6c, 127 1a 2a, 128 7f, 129 5f 8a, 160 1c 3c v 87 9a vii 16 5c 11c, 32 25a viii 34 14c, 35 18c, 26 2°c, 46 20c 26a, 54 8a, 90 6c, 101 9c 10a, 103 6c 12b ix 107 8c, 111 1a x 126 6c. (B) in Jagatī stanzas in the



Rigveda proper i 35 3b 3d 9d<sup>1</sup>, 101 5b, 102 2c, 110 6a 7a, 114 4a 5c 5d 6d 8a 9b, 145 1a 4b, ii 1 16d, 3 6c, 16 5a, 25 5b, 37 4a, iii 2 11b, 26 6d, 53 16c, v 44 10b, vi 61 3c, vii 41 1d, ix 70 1a, 86 3a 48d, x 23 5a 5b, 35 10b, 36 6c, 37 6a, 44 7b, 50 5c, 56 5b, 62 1a 1c 2c 3b 3c 4c 11c 11d, 63 3b 10b 11c 14a, 64 7a, 66 2a 10a 11a, 69 12c 12d, 75 7a 7b 8a 9b, 76 3b, 91 13d, 100 9b, 115 5c 5d, 122 1a 3b 3d 8d, 138 6b (c) \*in the popular Rigveda i 164 36a 41d, ii 32 5b 5d, iv 58 11d, vi 75 10a, vii 50 1b 2b 3a 3c, 104 3a 7a 7c 23d, viii 48 5c, 59 2i 3b 4b 5a, x 18 13d, 53 10a, 84 4b 5b 5d 6c 7b 7d, 94 1a, 117 2a, 125 2a

<sup>1</sup> also 'hybrid' verse, § 229

(ii) 'Extended Tristubh' is found in the first verse of the following stanza

*tā uvadan || prathamā brahmakīlbiṣe*  
*ākūpārah || sahlō mātarīsvā*  
*vīlūharas || tāpa ugrō mayobhūh*  
*āpo devīh || prathamagā tēna* \*x 109 i

Extended Tristubh verses are found as follows (A) in the Rigveda proper i 53 10a, [61 11a], 114 11a, 140 10a, 180 4a 9c, 181 5a, ii 3 3c, [11 3b], 18 2d, iii 31 20c, 53 11c, iv 19 5b, 55 6c, v 33 4d, 60 2c, vi 13 5d, 25 3a, 47 18c 18d, 52 14a, 72 1b 1c 2b 3b, vii 4 6d, 54 1d, 59 8b, 92 5a, ix 82 5c, 85 11c 12d, x 23 7c, [46 7c], 96 11b, 99 4c, 113 10a (B) \*in the popular Rigveda i 24 15c, 93 8c 8d, 162 4d 6b 8a 8c 11b 12c 12d 14a 15c 21a 22a 22b, 163 2a, 164 14a 14c 24c 39c 39d 44a 45b 47d 48c, ii 42 1d 2c, v 83 10c, vi 47 29b 30c 31c, 74 1d, 75 7a 14d, vii 103 8a, viii 100 12b, x 10 14c, 14 1a 10b 11b 12a 12b, 16 3b 3c 8a 10a 10b, 17 2b 4c 12d, 18 10c 12a, 27 24c 24d, 34 5c, 51 8a 9a, 53 5c, 59 5a 5c, 71 2b 2c 9c 9d, 81 3a 4c 4d 5a 7a, 82 6c, 85 18b 18d 27a 27b 44d, 88 1a, 94 14a, 95 3d 11a<sup>1</sup> 12d, 98 1a 5d 7a 12a, 101 9a 9b, 102 6c 10d, 103 2a 2b 3a 4c 6b 8a<sup>2</sup>, 109 1a 5a 5c, 114 1a 2a 2b 3c 4c 4d 5d 6b 10d, 117 8a 8c, 120 9d, 121 3c, 125 4a, 128 7a 7c 8c, 129 3b, 130 2c 2d, 149 2c, 161 1a 4c, 165 1c 1d 4d, 168 2c, 182 1a

<sup>1</sup> § 142 ii

<sup>2</sup> § 142 iii b

224. 'Hypersyllabic verses' containing thirteen syllables (Tristubh) or fourteen syllables (Jagatī) are usually formed by an extension of the rhythm of the cadence. They appear to be characteristic of the archaic period, but there are also several occurrences in the popular Rigveda

The following are examples of hypersyllabic verses

*abhī vo vīrām || āndhaso madesu gāyā* viii 46 14a  
*ēlah supar nāh || sū samudrām ā vivesā* \*x 114 4a

Hypersyllabic verses are numerous in the hymn viii 97 10-15, where they occur as 10b<sup>1</sup> 13a<sup>1</sup> 13b 13c 13d 14b 15b 15d. They are also found as follows i 88 1b, 133 6a 6f, iii 59 2d, iv 1 2a<sup>2</sup>,

vi 10 1b, 15 14a, 26 °c 7c¹ 52 14b² 14c    \*vii 10f 15a    viii 46  
14a, 90 5c² 103 5a¹    \*x 87 12b    \*13c    \*114 4a, \*121 7c    \*139 4o

¹ Irregular rhythm.    ² verse of 14 syllables.    ³ reading *apām*, § 143 III; otherwise this is a hybrid verse § 229

225 The syllabic variations which affect one part of the verse only have already been discussed but the rests and hybrid verses need to be considered separately as they involve difficulties as to the position of the caesura and therefore affect the general structure of the verse. We have taken as our starting point (§ 94 iii) the view that the rests generally are characteristic of an early period of the R̥gveda and this view is borne out by the fact that they are comparatively rare in the popular R̥gveda. A closer examination however shows that the rests fall into three classes, partly according to the rhythm of the verses in which they occur and partly according to their use in the R̥gveda namely (i) verses in which a rest is associated with iambic rhythm of the break the rest being at the fifth place, and the sixth syllable being long these verses are chiefly found in the decasyllabic Trīṣṭubh hymns, and are of the Virāṭsthānā or some similar type (ii) verses agreeing on the whole with the normal trimeter rhythm but chiefly found in decasyllabic metres the types being the Pentad and the Bhārgavi verse and (iii) verses entirely agreeing with the ordinary trimeter rhythm but having the first part of the verse defective by one syllable Verses of the last class may be said to contain neutral rests on account of their lack of distinctive character they are found most frequently in the hymns in decasyllabic Trīṣṭubh but to a certain extent are spread over the whole R̥gveda.

The hymns in decasyllabic Trīṣṭubh and those in decasyllabic metres, if examined on this basis are found to fall into two groups which do not exactly correspond to the differences denoted by the titles. All the hymns in decasyllabic Trīṣṭubh are alike in showing a free admixture of regular Trīṣṭubh verses with decasyllabic verses of the Virāṭsthānā and neutral types, and also a very high proportion of other archaic variations. The Virāṭsthānā and Gautamī hymns (ii 11 & 61) only differ from them in showing a much higher proportion of decasyllabic verses. These hymns must necessarily belong as a whole to the archaic period. On the other hand the Pentad and Bhārgavi hymns

consist almost exclusively of decasyllabic verses of their respective types, and have comparatively few irregularities of any other kind it is therefore unlikely that they are earlier than the strophic period

In recording variations belonging to these different types it is convenient to distinguish the occurrences, according as they are found (A) in the hymns in decasyllabic metres, (B) in decasyllabic Tristubh hymns, (C) in other hymns in the R̥gveda proper, or (D) in the popular R̥gveda

The lists of decasyllabic verses given in the next three sections include over 900 instances, of which almost 400 are in the decasyllabic metres, about 250 in decasyllabic Tristubh verse, the same number in the whole of the rest of the R̥gveda proper, and about 50 in the popular R̥gveda

Some of the instances are open to question, as the occurrences of *indra* in the Vasiṣṭha hymns (§ 149 i). On the other hand it is probable that some at least of the verses for which resolution has been suggested in §§ 142, 143, 149 n-iv, 150 and 151 above are rightly to be explained as decasyllabic verses. Of these doubtful cases there are about 100 in the hymns in decasyllabic Tristubh alone, as shewn in brackets in those sections. The interpretation chosen will therefore materially affect our view as to the extent to which the system of 'rests' is carried

Even on the lower computation, and excluding the decasyllabic metres, decasyllabic verses are about as common in trimeter verse as is hiatus (§ 131) and there is therefore no abstract reason why in individual cases we should prefer the one explanation to the other. The rhythm may, however, often give a reason for a preference: it should at least be a general rule of metrical interpretation that '*hiatus or resolution should not be postulated in order to bring a verse up to the regular number of syllables, if by so doing irregular rhythm is introduced*'

This rule, as already observed, is opposed to the interpretation *vidua* so far as the archaic period is concerned

From the list of verses containing one or more 'rests' we omit the following because the rhythm is so exceptional that it becomes very probable that errors have crept into the text: i 120 1c 6a 7b, 132 2b, \*162 16c, 173 4a, ii 19 5a, iv 26 7a, v 41 9a, vi 17 10c, 50 9c, viii 46 15c 20a, ix 110 10a, x 32 5b, 55 8d, 61 26a 27d, 79 5b, \*95 4c, 105 8a, 112 6b, 132 1a, 144 1c

226 The decasyllabic types which have iambic rhythm at the caesura are (i) the Virātsthūnā verse, (ii) *indra* following in early caesura (§ 149 i), (iii) the Gautami verse (see below) and (iv) verses with a double rest. The caesura may most conveniently be reckoned as following the rest. In all the types the seventh syllable is more often short than long

The Virāṭsthānā type is very common in the hymn u 11 and the Gautamī verse in i 61 otherwise these verses are chiefly found in the decasyllabic Triṣṭubh hymns which are most frequent in the collections i 58-64 and vi. But all the types are occasionally found with Jagati cadence.

(i) The Virāṭsthānā verse has a rest at the fifth place, and a long sixth syllable. Its two varieties are illustrated by the following examples

(a) with short seventh syllable

*rāśi kṛdyān ṛ rāśi mūdrām aśmā* ii 11 14a.

(b) with long seventh syllable

*devāhīnad ṛ utthāśr vāyudhānā* ii 11 2d

(a) Of the first variety there are 106 occurrences, as follows

(A) in ii 11 39 occurrences also i 61 5a 10d 11c 14d 15d vi 34 17a  
x 6 1c 6d 46 7d, 78 1a 6a. (B) i 63 9a, 77 2c<sup>1</sup> 3b 120 4a, 123 4d  
135 5b 149 3a, 153 2a ii 19 3c 7a, 20 3c 4d iv 21 6c 7a 7c  
v 41 16d 45 9a vi 20 2d 6c, 21 8b, 33 4c, 63 3a 6a, 66 3b x 23  
4c<sup>2</sup> 6d, 49 1d<sup>3</sup> 3b<sup>3</sup> 5c 61 2c 3d 17a, 99 2d 148 2b. (C) i 58 8d, 62  
7d, 117 1b, 131 6<sup>4</sup> 154 3a, 155 5b<sup>5</sup> 165 14b iv 37 4b v 43  
14b vi 3 7b, 10 4a, 19 2d, 23 6a, 51 4a vii 1 15b, 28 3b, 56  
18a, 58 6a x 77 7a, 80 2c 4c, 111 10a. (D) \*x 59 5c<sup>6</sup>

(b) Of the second variety there are only half as many instances, occurring as follows (A) in ii 11 11 times also i 61 3d 4a 6a 8a 11d,  
68 2b vi 44 9a x 46 5d 6b 7c<sup>7</sup> (B) i 60 1b, 63 5c, 121 7a,  
148 1a, 173 5c, 174 9b ii 20 6d v 33 4d 41 8b 45 2b vi 21  
2b 6c, 63 2c x 61 16a, 99 7d 8d (C) i 33 4c, 71 4b 89 6b, 117  
1c, 121 6c, 140 13c iv 44 5d vi 13 1c, 19 10b, 67 10a vii 6 2a,  
48 1a viii 23 3c<sup>8</sup> ix 93 5c<sup>9</sup> x 30 9c. (D) \*x 17 13a, \*120 1b.

<sup>1</sup> § 181 HL

<sup>2</sup> Jagati verses.

<sup>3</sup> but see § 170 11f

(ii) Decasyllabic cases in which *indra* follows early caesura are of the same type as Virāṭsthānā verses, as illustrated by the following examples

(a) *yā udfo ṛ indra devagopā* i 53 11a.

(b) *yād dha syā ta ṛ indra brupfir dā* i 178 1a.

(a) Of the first variety there are 98 occurrences, as follows (A) ii  
11 1a 2a 4c 7a 11a 14b 16d 20d x 6 6c. (B) i 63 1a to 9a, 104 2a  
8a, 129 1a<sup>1</sup> 4a 167 1a, 169 1a to 5a, 173 13a, 174 1a to 5a, 7a to 10a,  
178 2a ii 19 3a 8c v 33 4a 5a vi 20 11a 13a, 21 8a, 24 10b,  
33 1a, 35 2a 3a, x 22 2a 11a<sup>1</sup> 12a 13a 15a, 50 3a 4a<sup>1</sup> 61 22a, 93 11a<sup>1</sup>  
148 2a 4a 5a. (C) i 33 14a, 53 11a, 100 17a, 133 6a, 165 3a, 177  
5a ii 17 8d iii 32 12a iv 16 21a, 17 1a, 19 1a 2b, 50 11a  
vi 23 3a 10a, 23 3a, 25 1b, 26 7b, 44 15a, 47 9a vii 19 2a 6a, 21  
5a 6a, 22 1a 8c, 23 5a, 25 1a, 29 1a, 30 1b 4a, 92 4a viii 66 5c<sup>2</sup> 97  
14a ix 88 1a x 29 3a. (D) none.

(b) Of the second variety there are only 35 occurrences, as follows (A) none (B) 1 129 7f<sup>1</sup> 8b<sup>1</sup>, 167 10a, 173 5a 7c 10b 11a, 178 1a 3a 4a, 11 19 1b, 20 4a 5b 6a 7a, 1v 21 10a, vi 20 3b, 21 2a, 24 1a, x 22 1a, 23 1a<sup>1</sup>, 49 11a, 50 2b<sup>1</sup>, 148 1a (c) 1 89 6a, 130 2a<sup>1</sup>, 186 6c, 11 31 3a<sup>1</sup>, 111 49 1a, 1v 24 2b, 39 4d, v 36 1a, vii 20 2a, viii 96 20a (d) \*x 139 4c

<sup>1</sup> Jagatī verses

(111) The name 'Gautamī verse' is suggested to describe a metre which agrees in form with the Virātsthānā verse, except that the rest precedes an early caesura. Such verses are very common in the Gotama hymn 1 61, in the occurrences in that hymn the rhythm of the break is always || — — ∪, the seventh syllable being therefore short but it is probable that some occurrences with long seventh syllable in other hymns are really of the same type, and therefore also to be associated with the Virātsthānā verse

The two forms of the Gautamī verse may therefore be illustrated by the following examples

(a) *bhārāmi* || *āngūṣām āsīena* 1 61 3b

(b) *brāvaḥ kād* || *aryamnē kād bhāgāya* 1v 3 5d

(a) Occurrences with short seventh syllable (A) 1 61 1d 3b 4b<sup>1</sup> 4c 10b 11b 13a 13b 13c (B) 1 77 5b, 148 2c, 11 20 8b, vi 24 7d, x 132 3c (c) 1 147 1b, v 46 8b, vi 26 1a<sup>2</sup>, x 74 3c

(d) none

(b) Occurrences with long seventh syllable (A) vi 44 7b 7c, x 6 3a. (B) vi 20 2b (c) 1 138 2f<sup>3</sup>, 1v 3 5d 12c, x 74 1b

(d) none

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively with hiatus, § 123 b

<sup>2</sup> Alternatively as a Pentad verse

<sup>3</sup> Jagatī verse

(iv) The majority of those trimeter verses in the R̥gveda which have only nine syllables may be explained as Virātsthānā verses with an additional rest at the fourth place. The following verses will illustrate the two varieties

(a) *vāyo ná* || *paptatā sumāyāḥ* 1 88 1d

(b) *ayām sá* || *hótā yó dvajānmā* 1 149 5a

(a) The first of these varieties occurs nine times, namely (A) 11 11 3b<sup>1</sup> 15c. (B) 1 129 11a<sup>1</sup> 2, 174 6a, x 22 9a<sup>1</sup>, 61 24c (c) 1 33 9a<sup>1</sup>, 88 1d, viii 19 33a<sup>2</sup>

(b) The second variety occurs six times, namely (B) 1 149 5a, 173 4c<sup>1</sup>, x 49 2a<sup>1</sup> 2, 61 23a, 105 5a<sup>3</sup> (c) 1 88 2c

As the great majority of these instances are in hymns in decasyllabic Tristubh, it becomes highly probable that they are varieties of Virātsthānā verse, and belong to the archaic period

<sup>1</sup> *indra* follows the caesura

<sup>2</sup> Jagatī verses

<sup>3</sup> but see § 244 iii.

227 The decasyllabic types which are chiefly found in distinctive metres are the Pentad and the Bhārgavī verses

The Pentad verse is commonly equivalent to a Tristubh verse

with rest at the sixth place but each part of the verse exercises an influence over the other with the result that the third syllable is generally short and the seventh and ninth syllables are often long. For the immediate purpose it will be sufficient to distinguish two varieties, according as the seventh syllable is short or long the other characteristics are discussed elsewhere.

The Bhārgavī verse has two forms, one having a rest in the fifth place, and the other one in the sixth place. The Bhārgavī differs from all other decasyllabic variations in being based upon Jagatī verse it is therefore strictly speaking a hendecasyllabic variation. One of its forms agrees with one of the forms of Pentad verse except for the difference in the cadence but the resemblance appears to be accidental.

Occasionally we may find examples of Pentad rhythm with Jagatī cadence and of Bhārgavī rhythm with Triṣṭubh cadence but these examples are isolated and no importance can be attached to them except as suggesting emendation of the text.

Both in Pentad and in Bhārgavī verse the rest appears to follow the caesura upon this assumption each type in its more common variety agrees with normal trimeter rhythm. Examples of double rests can be found but are rare.

(1) The Pentad verse occurs about 170 times with short seventh syllable, and 130 times with long seventh syllable. The great majority of these occurrences are in the Dvīpādī Virāj hymns (§ 94 iii δ) in the hymns in decasyllabic Triṣṭubh verses of this type play a comparatively small part. The two varieties may be illustrated by the following examples

(a) *lakṣā nā bhārgavī n vānā sapakti* 1 66 2a.

(b) *dadhāra kṣīnam n śho nā ranvāḥ* 1 66 3a.

(a) Occurrences with short seventh syllable (A) 1 65-70 63 times ii 11 17d vi 44 8c vii 34 1-21 26 times, 56 1-11 13 times ix 109 18 times x 1 6c 6 6 times, 46 11 times.

(B) i 153 1a 174 3d v 41 15c vi 63 2b, 66 3c 68 5c x 93 12a, 99 8b. (c) i 62 8c iv 3 11b 13d, 50 2c v 15 5c vi 26 1d, 67 11c vii 53 3c, 87 6b ix 91 6a x 45 8b, 73 3a, 89 8d, 124 6c. (D) \*x 83 3b, \*101 7a, \*120 1d \*4a.

(b) Occurrences with long seventh syllable (A) 1 61 15b, 65-70 55 times ii 11 16a vi 44 7a 8a 8b 9b 9d vii 34 1-21 14 times, 56 1- 5 times ix 109 \*4 times x 1 1d 5b\* 6b, 6 6 times, 46 6d. (B) i 104 1b, 120 3b\* 140 2c 4a v 41 10a vi 24 8d, 66 6d x 99 8c. (c) i 130 10c iv 26 7d vi 17 7d, 67 10c vii 4 3b\* 6 3c. (D) \*1 169 16d \*x 114 10b.

\* with short eighth syllable.

\* reading *yajñā yajñāya*, cf. § 152 H.

\* tra. altering *māma* to *śa* but see § 244 H.

\* § 151 III.

For the quantity of the third syllable see below § 249 the instances of a long ninth syllable have already been enumerated in § 220 iii

Several of these verses may also be interpreted as Gautamī verses for instance vii 52 3c, 87 6b

(ii) The varieties of Bhārgavī verse have been illustrated in § 52 the form with rest at the sixth place only differs from the second form of Pentad verse in the cadence The rhythm is that of the normal trimeter verse after early caesura

(a) Occurrences with rest at the fifth place (A) x 77 1a 1b 1c<sup>1</sup>  
2b 2d 3a 3c 3d 4d 5b, 78 1b 1d 2c<sup>1</sup> 2d 3b 3c 3d 4b 4c 6d (c) i 36 8c,  
48 4a, 100 6b, vii 96 2c, viii 27 12c

(b) Occurrences with rest at the sixth place (A) x 77 1d 2a 2c 3b  
4c, 78 4d (B) i 129 9f (c) i 83 6b, 112 10b, v 51 13a,  
vi 15 1d, viii 52 4a<sup>2</sup>, x 32 4c<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sixth syllable long

<sup>2</sup> fifth syllable long

(iii) The varieties that follow bear a resemblance to the Pentad or Bhārgavī types, but are too scattered to be of historical importance

(a) Pentad verses with short seventh syllable and Jagatī cadence  
(c) ii 24 5b, 36 1a, viii 98 7b, ix 71 7c<sup>1</sup>, 79 1c (d) \*vi  
47 31c, \*x 56 4d

(b) Bhārgavī verses with rest at the fifth place and Tristubh  
cadence (A) i 61 6c, 70 10a, x 6 2a (B) i 122 3a, 173 2c,  
v 33 2b (c) i 100 5b, 117 22c, 130 10d, ii 18 1a, vii 75  
4a (d) \*x 14 5c

(c) Pentad verses with rest before and after the caesura, as

*sá tuám na || arvan nīdāyāh* vi 12 6a

The occurrences are (B) ii 20 3a, x 61 27a (c) ii 31 7c, vi 12  
6a, viii 96 21a<sup>1</sup>, x 55 2c

(d) Bhārgavī verse, with rest before and after an early caesura

*rājāno || ná citráh susamdśāh* x 78 1c

This example seems to stand alone

<sup>1</sup> with short eighth syllable

**228** Verses with neutral rest are such as have the latter part of the verse complete and of the ordinary rhythm the rest therefore must be considered to *precede* the caesura, coming either at the fourth or at the fifth place, as in § 226 Any textual emendation which will add a syllable to the first part of the verse will have the effect of restoring a regular trimeter verse

The two varieties are illustrated by the following examples

(i) *añjastī || kulśī vīrāpatnī* i 104 4c

(ii) *dīdīāno || bhāvati druhamtarāh* i 127 3b

(i) Neutral rests at the fourth place (A) i 61 11a<sup>1</sup> ii 11 3b  
 7d. (n) i 60 4c, 101 4a, 190 1a 3c<sup>2</sup> 123 6c 6d 167 1c 7b<sup>1</sup> 169  
 2c 5c ii 4 3b 8b, 70 a 2d v 33 1c 2c, 41 17b, 45 1d vi 20  
 7a, 24 3a 10d<sup>3</sup> 30 1a, 63 4c, 68 4d x 23 5a<sup>1</sup> 50 4c, 61 27c, 93 9a,  
 99 6b 11c, 105 3c 6a, 13<sup>2</sup> 1b 7a. (c) i 48 3c 62 3a, 89 4b 141  
 8a, 158 3b, 180 3c, 184 5b<sup>1</sup> 190 7c ii 2 1a, 14 5b 5c, 15 7a, 31  
 7b iv 2c 1a v 29 13b vi 4 8d<sup>3</sup> 10 7b 12 6d<sup>3</sup> 13 6d 15  
 15c, 17 15b 29 2b, 48 17c vii 100 3a viii 46 17b, 49 4c,  
 52 2a ix 86 43a, 101 9a x 31 6b, 79 3a, 92 14b 112 1c.  
 (D) \*v 47 31b \*x 16 8c, \*85 44c \*94 11a, \*95 4a \*10a  
 \*13c, \*101 10b<sup>1</sup> \*130 1a, \*170 3b.

<sup>1</sup> The verse may be alternatively explained by hiatus or resolution at the cost  
 of an irregular opening <sup>2</sup> Supply *śrīṣṭa* *śaḥ* to begin the verse. <sup>3</sup> Refrain  
 verse *śaddama* with irregular break. <sup>4</sup> Alternatively read *śaddaḥ*  
 but see § 244 i.

(ii) Neutral rests at the fifth place (A) i 61 10a<sup>1</sup> ii 11 10d  
 x 77 4b 5a 78 4a. (n) i 127 3b<sup>1</sup> 9a 10a 10b<sup>1</sup> 135 1b  
 145 5a 5d 148 4b, 167 6c, 173 10a, 174 2c 8c, 178 1c ii 4 5d  
 9c iv 21 5c v 33 10a 41 5d 10d 10c vi 40 7b, 30 5a 60  
 9c 10c x 93 3c, 1<sup>2</sup> 50 5c, 61 25a, 105 1c. (c) i 39 3c<sup>1</sup> 64 9a<sup>1</sup>  
 76 1d, 79 1c, 88 3c, 159 2a<sup>1</sup> 180 6c, 186 3a 7c ii 23 4a, 53 24a,  
 61 4b iv 1 19c, 2 2d, 3 14b, 4 1c, 16 15a 17 1c, 40 7c v 30  
 6a<sup>2</sup> 57 8c vi 65 5a vii 5 1a, 37 4a, 57 1b, 59 8c, 60 9b, 97 6a  
 viii 19 18a 24 17c<sup>1</sup> 101 12a ix 88 4c<sup>1</sup> x 3 1a, 39 14b,  
 63 15a 66 4b, 74 3a 78 8a<sup>1</sup> 112 7a 7c, 113 7c<sup>1</sup> 115 9c, 129 5a 7d.  
 (D) \*i 161 14c, \*164 30a \*35b \*48c<sup>1</sup> \*v 40 7a<sup>1</sup> 7c \*x 12  
 2a, \*13 3c, \*14 8d, \*27 6c, \*53 4c, \*84 4a, \*180 3a.

<sup>1</sup> § 153 L. <sup>2</sup> Jagati c. w. <sup>3</sup> In these verses the full number of syllables  
 may be obtained at the cost of an irregular opening <sup>4</sup> § 168 III.

(iii) A rest following an early caesura gives us the first variety of  
 Bhārgavi verse (§ 297 i a) and a rest following a late caesura gives us  
 the first variety of Pentad verse (§ 297 i a).

229 Hybrid verses (§ 56) are most common in the popular  
 Rigveda, and are there doubtless to be explained by contamina-  
 tion. But there are also a few examples in the earlier parts of  
 the Rigveda, and particularly in the decasyllabic Tristubh hymns.  
 Hybrid Jagati verses are very rare

The instances are (A) none. (n) i 16, 1b, 169 6c ii 4 8d x  
 50 2c, 61 1c, 93 14b (c) i 35 9d 110 9b 138 3f vi 17 7b viii  
 22 14c, 46 19c, 61 8c, 101 17c x 123 3b. (D) \*i 161 8a<sup>1</sup>, \*164  
 17a \*23d \*45d \*ii 43 2c<sup>1</sup> \*v 44 15a \*15b \*15c \*vi 75  
 18c \*vii 59 6a \*7a \*7d \*x 28 1c, \*51 9a \*82 4b, \*87 14a,  
 \*103 7a \*11a, \*128 8a, \*129 6b.



230 TABLE SHOWING THE USE OF THE SYLLABIC VARIATIONS

Refer to §	Number of verses		Archaic			Stroph.	Normal	Cretic	Pop
			Decas. metres	Decas. Trist.	else where				
			516	1525	3865	2621	6554	5225	3463
226 1	Virātsthānā (short 7th)	106 <sup>1</sup>	98 <sup>2</sup>	22	3	} 2	1	2	1
" 1	" (long 7th)	55	41	11	5				
" 11	īndra (short 7th)	98	17	103	3	} 5	2	1	0
" 11	" (long 7th)	33	0	43	1				
" 111	Gautamī (both forms)	26	23	4	1	0	0	0	0
" 1V	Double rests	16	4	7	1	0	0	0	0
227 1	Pentad (short 7th)	165	294	6	1	} 2	1	1	2
" 1	" (long 7th)	132	242	6	1				
" 11	Bhārgavī (early caesura)	27	41	2	5	} 12	0	2	0
" 11	" (late caesura)	14	12	—	5				
	Neutral rests								
228 1	at the fourth place	85	8	25	4	2	1	1	3
" 11	at the fifth place	86	12	17	4	2	2	2	3
229	Hybrid verses	35	0	2	2	0	0	1	6

<sup>1</sup> In this column the absolute number of occurrences is given

<sup>2</sup> From this point the number of occurrences is proportional to each 1000 trimeter verses except that Pentad variations are proportional to each 1000 Tristubh verses, and Bhārgavī variations to each 1000 Jagatī verses

231 It is now possible to define more accurately the characteristics of trimeter verse in each period of the R̥gveda, and to use these characteristics for a revision of our provisional arrangement of the hymns, by examining the extent to which they appear in a series of groups of hymns much smaller than those used in § 204 as the starting-point of this investigation

In drawing up a list of the characteristics of each period, it must be borne in mind (1) that most of the marks of the archaic period are also found, though much less commonly, in the strophic period (11) that the marks of the popular R̥gveda are to some extent anticipated in the cretic period (111) that the characteristics of the intermediate periods are not such as are peculiar to them, but such as are more freely used in each of them than in other periods Even the evidence for the archaic and popular periods must be used with care in dealing with small groups of hymns, for instance such as contain less than 500 trimeter verses but the evidence for the intermediate periods is only a slight indication of date except when the groups are much larger

Subject to these qualifications the characteristics of the respective periods may be summed up as follows

(i) chiefly in the archaic period we find (a) the weak caesura, either after the third syllable or in a compound (§ 214) (b) the iambic and irregular forms of the break (§ 214) (c) irregularities in the rhythm of the cadence (§ 220) (d) decasyllabic verses with iambic rhythm (§ 226) or with neutral rests (§ 228). From (a) (b) and (c) verses with secondary caesura (§ 217) must be excepted.

(ii) the strophic period is marked by the frequency of the verses in which secondary caesura is found (§ 213).

(iii) in the strophic and normal periods the Pentad opening  $\times - \cup - - \cup$  is more common than elsewhere.

(iv) in the crutic period the crutic break  $\cup - \cup -$  and to a less extent the syncopated opening  $\times \cup - - \cup$  obtain prominence.

(v) in the popular Rigveda the rhythm is almost the same as in the crutic period, but the following syllabic variations occur (a) extended Tristubh verses (§ 223 i) (b) catalectic Jagatī verses (§ 223 ii) and (c) hybrid verses (§ 225).

232. The smaller groups to which these tests are applied may be either subdivisions of the large groups or smaller groups outside them united by their character or position. Subdivision of the homogeneous Maṇḍalas iii iv vi vii and even of the group x 20-80 shows that the separate parts (as for instance the Agni hymns, the Indra hymns, the hymns to other deities) are practically identical in rhythm and therefore it is unnecessary to give details here. The most important groups united by their character are the hymns in the different lyric metres. Small groups united by position are found in all parts of the Rigveda outside the homogeneous Maṇḍalas and in Maṇḍalas vi and vii the presumed later additions form groups of some importance.

It is unnecessary to give here a list of the hymns in each of the 57 small groups examined, as the contents are sufficiently indicated in the Table in § 235. To each of the small groups are prefixed the results for the larger groups of Chapter III so that the homogeneity of the larger groups can at once be tested. The division of the hymns of the popular Rigveda into small groups is of an artificial character since only the hymns x 10-18 form a natural group.

233 The following are the principal results of this investigation, as shewn by the Table in § 235

The three principal groups of the archaic period have on the whole the same metrical character, but this character is least pronounced in Group III. Amongst the smaller groups the *Usniḥ*, *Kakubh-Satobṛhatī*, and uneven lyric hymns, the decasyllabic *Tristubh* hymns of Mandalas II and VI, and the group x 48-50 (in decasyllabic *Tristubh* and *Jagatī*) have the most marked archaic character, variations occurring in every third or fourth verse. The hymns in *Atyaṣṭī* and *Brhatī-Satobṛhatī*, the decasyllabic *Tristubh* hymns of the groups I 165-190 and of Mandala x, the hymns of the group I 58-64, and the remainder of the *Bharadvāja* hymns have archaic variations once in every fifth verse. On the other hand the hymns of Mandala v, of the group I 76-92, and the hymns of the *Māna* family (I 165-190) other than the hymns in decasyllabic *Tristubh* do not shew any large proportion of archaic variations and the two latter use the *Pentad* opening as freely as the hymns of the normal period.

In the strophic period all the groups agree in shewing the archaic variations about once in every eight verses but the use of secondary caesura is confined to the *Vasistha* hymns and one or two of the smaller groups. In the *Kanva* hymns there is no trace at all of this variation.

In the normal period several of the groups diverge from the general standard. The *Vāmadeva* hymns (Mandala IV) have as many of the archaic variations as the hymns of the preceding period. The hymns of Mandala IX shew special favour to the *Pentad* opening. The group I 116-119, and (to a lesser extent) the third Mandala combine secondary caesura with the cretic break.

The groups of the cretic period shew a remarkable agreement in all particulars, the general rhythm being very strict in all the groups, and the cretic break being used once in every four or five verses.

The hymns of the popular period present no new feature of interest.

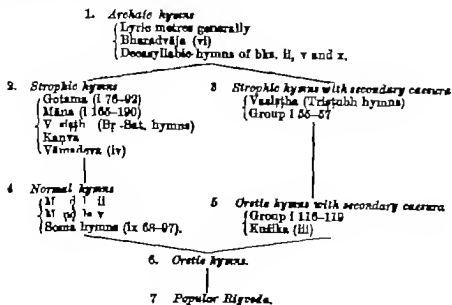
234. Since it appears that the secondary caesura is entirely absent from some of the groups of the strophic period, which yet

agree in other points we must necessarily conclude that the metre in this period followed two parallel lines of developement one only of these being characterized by the secondary caesura. The general characteristic of the period must then be defined as the use of the archaic variations to a smaller extent than is found in the archaic period.

By this definition the following small groups will properly be assigned to that branch in the strophic period which is free from secondary caesura the Gotama group 1 76-92 the Mana group 1 165-190 (excepting the decasyllabic hymns) the Brhātī Satobrhātī hymns of Maṇḍala vii, the Kapva hymns, and perhaps also those of Mamateya. It seems also probable that Maṇḍala iv (Vāmadeva hymns) should, as a whole be assigned to this branch of the strophic period. The second branch will consist of the Tristubh hymns of Maṇḍala vii and the group 1 55-57

The same division into two branches will then be perceived in the normal period the hymns in Maṇḍalas ii, v and ix being free from secondary caesura, whilst those in Maṇḍala iii and the group 1 116-119 retain the principal form of secondary caesura and discard some of its rarer forms (see subsection iii a below) In this group 1 116-119 the developement of the cretic break is also very marked

The general developement of trimeter metre appears therefore such as may be indicated as follows



This genealogy is of course suggested with every reserve but it is quite consistent with the general view of the history of dimeter verse obtained in § 201

If the indications of metre are followed out in further detail as a matter of speculative interest, the following points have some probabilities to recommend them

(1) (a) In the archaic period the *Atyastī* hymns, chiefly found in the group 1 127-139, and the *Bṛhatī-Satobṛhatī* hymns, chiefly found in Mandalas vi and viii, are not so early in date as the other lyric metres. For the results of the similar investigation of the dimeter verses in the lyric metres see §§ 187, 201 ii, iii

(b) The group viii 35-37 contains so few trimeter verses that the metrical indications cannot be trusted. So far as they go they revive the doubt already expressed in § 105 iii as to the real antiquity of these hymns. It will perhaps be best to refer them to the strophic period.

(c) In all the groups into which the large Group III is divided the question arises whether the hymns in decasyllabic *Tristubh* are really of the same date as the remainder. Wherever the bulk is sufficient to enable us to examine the two sets of hymns, we find that the decasyllabic *Tristubh* hymns have a much larger proportion of archaic variations. This result is the more remarkable, because the decasyllabic variations themselves are not included in the case of these hymns. It seems therefore probable that these groups are not entirely homogeneous, though the evidence may not always be sufficient to justify us in naming particular hymns as later in date.

(ii) (a) In the strophic period there is a considerable divergence in the proportion of archaic variations between the three groups of *Kāṇva* hymns but the number of trimeter verses is so small, and the agreement in other matters so close, that we should not be justified in separating them. If we take the three groups together the percentage of archaic variations is 17, which is distinctly lower than that of the *Bṛhatī-Satobṛhatī* hymns in Group I, but agrees closely with the results for the *Bṛhatī-Satobṛhatī* hymns of Mandala vii. Cf § 201 iii

(b) The great frequency of the secondary caesura in the *Vasistha* *Tristubh* hymns stands in striking contrast to its entire absence in the *Bṛhatī-Satobṛhatī* hymns of the same Mandala. The Pentad opening is also much more common in the *Tristubh* hymns than in those in *Bṛhatī-Satobṛhatī*. It is perhaps not impossible that a single poet should have introduced these variations into one metre without employing them in the other but it seems more probable that a difference in time should account for the divergence. Upon this supposition we must assign the earlier date to the lyric hymns. The *Māmateya* group 1 141-158 does not employ the secondary caesura, but it has very commonly the Pentad opening in both respects it agrees closely with the *Vāmadeva* hymns, which we have now brought into the strophic period.

(iii) (a) In the normal groups as a whole secondary caesura is extremely rare its frequency in the group i 116-119 and in the third Mandala is the more remarkable. If we compare the four separate forms of secondary caesura in the Vasiṣṭha hymns and in these groups, we arrive at the following results for each 100 verses

	No. of verses	Secondary or accompanied by			
		caes. after 3rd	- - -	- - -	- - -
Vasiṣṭha	1615	1	4	10	3
i 116-119	184	0	2	18	2
iii	1418	0	1	7	1

The groups i 116-119 and iii therefore only employ two of the four forms that are used in the Vasiṣṭha hymns that is the forms in which the caesura follows the fifth syllable these are used in the group i 116-119 much more commonly than elsewhere, but in the third Mandala less commonly. This is consistent with the view that the Vasiṣṭha group is the earliest of the three.

(b) In almost all the groups of the normal period the cretic variations are distinctly more common than in the preceding periods, and thus the favour shewn to these forms is to some extent anticipated. On the other hand the favour shewn to the Pentad opening varies considerably both in the strophic period and in this.

(c) The small group i 71-73 is singularly featureless but it is at least clear that it has nothing at all in common with the Pentad hymns i 65-70 to which it is attached, except the ascription of the hymns to the god Agni.

(iv) In the cretic and popular periods respectively there are practically no divergences of rhythm. The process of contamination appears to be most advanced in the group i 161-164 x 94-191 and we may conjecture that the very latest trimeter hymns of the R̥gveda are contained within those groups. Otherwise the entire absence of individuality in these two periods is remarkable. It seems probable that the hymns of both periods follow the breaking-up of the system of family collections though they include two groups, i 31-35 and i 94-115 which have the outward characteristics of family collections and appear as such in the Saṁhitā text.

## 235 TRIMETER VARIATIONS IN THE SMALLER GROUPS

		No of verses	Arch.	Stroph.	Stroph and Normal	Cretic	Pop
ARCHAIC PERIOD							
	GROUP I	895	26 <sup>2</sup>	7	12	12	3
1	Usuh <sup>1</sup>	154	39	12	12	17	2
2	Atyasti <sup>1</sup>	316	21	5	14	11	3
3	Kakubh-Satobrhati <sup>1</sup>	207	38	8	11	15	2
4	Uneven lyric <sup>1</sup>	117	37	10	7	8	1
5	Brhati-Satobrhati <sup>1</sup>	274	23	8	16	11	2
6	Miscellaneous	195	16	9	14	12	3
	GROUP II	1301	24	8	12	9	1
7	i 121, 122	120	26	1	11	12	0
8	ii 4, 19, 20, etc	116	40	3	5	9	1
9	v	438	14	3	13	10	1
10	viii 35-37	68	5	21	18	9	0
11	x 61, 73, 74, etc.	306	23	13	11	10	1
	GROUP III	2983	18	7	13	11	1
12	i 58-64, ix 93, 94	211	19	5	24	9	0
13	i 76-92, ix 88	310	15	7	12	14	0
14	i 165-190	459	11	6	20	9	1
15	„ (decas Tristubh)	181	21	7	12	6	1
16	vi	1206	18	7	9	12	0
17	„ (decas Tristubh)	316	30	6	8	11	0
18	x 48-50	116	27	7	7	13	2
STROPHIC PERIOD							
	GROUP IV	2301	12	16	13	10	1
19	i 55-57	90	12	21	13	3	0
20	i 141-158	306	12	9	21	9	0
21	vii (Tristubh hymns)	1615	12	18	17	11	0
22	„ (Br Sat hymns)	100	16	6	9	10	3
23	ix 70, 71, 76, 79 (Jagati)	116	12	13	21	7	1
24	107, 110	71	11	6	10	12	1
	GROUP V	371	18	3	14	16	1
25	i 46-48 (Br Sat)	117	22	4	15	19	2
26	viii 1-11, 33	141	17	1	12	13	1
27	viii 49-57	100	11	3	15	13	0

<sup>1</sup> These groups include some hymns in the larger Groups II and III also<sup>2</sup> These figures are proportionate to each 100 verses

TRIMETER VARIATIONS IN THE SMALLER GROUPS (contd.)

		N. of cases	Arch.	Stroph.	Stroph. and Normal	Cyclic	Pop.
NORMAL PHASE							
	Group VI	4432	2	4	17	14	1
28	li, x 91 92	1056		1	45	15	1
29	lv	1 23	12	2	18	12	0
30	v	912	4	4	19	16	0
31	ix 66-68 (Jacobi)	524	2	1	20	9	0
32	ix 67 97 (Tr. Goldh.)	214	1	1	18	11	0
	Group VII	1941	2	0	16	19	2
33	i 71-73	170	3	3	11	13	0
34	i 116-119	161	0	21	14	23	0
35	lii	1018	3	4	17	1	1
36	x 87 101 100	177	6	2	16	19	0
CRYPTIC PHASE							
	Group VIII	2629	2	2	14	23	1
37	i 51-51	204	3	1	13	18	0
38	i 91 113	645	6	2	14	21	2
39	i 123-126	1 2	2	1	11	21	0
40	i 140 160	184	6	1	16	21	2
41	lii	136	7	2	16	21	0
42	v	321	4	2	15	17	2
43	vii	516	3	3	11	20	1
44	ix 80 90 97 (part.)	166	3	1	13	22	0
45	x 63 66, 172	118	6	2	11	18	5
	Group IX	2417	6	3	14	19	2
46	i 31-35	291	4	1	13	19	1
47	li	223	6	2	14	22	1
48	v	109	4	0	10	10	2
49	x 29-80	1168	6	4	15	19	2
50	x 96-178	424	6	4	13	17	2
POPULAR RIGAFDA							
	Group X	2443	6	3	12	19	3
51	i 161 164	577	7	2	8	21	8
52	lv	109	4	4	17	21	1
53	vii	379	5	1	10	14	2
54	viii	166	6	6	12	15	2
55	x 10-18	530	7	2	12	16	5
56	x 27 90	747	4	1	12	17	5
57	x 91 191	929	0	2	15	19	7



236 The detailed examination of trimeter verse in this chapter leads us to a somewhat different view of its history to that assumed as a starting-point in § 94 above. At that time decasyllabic and iambic variations appeared to be characteristic of the earlier parts of the *Rigveda*, as opposed to the cretic variation and contamination, which characterize its later parts. Now, however, we are in a position to distinguish two kinds of variation in the earlier parts. Variations of almost every kind appear side by side in those groups which we can assign most confidently to the archaic period, resulting in a rhythm which we may call the *less rigid trimeter rhythm*, and which exactly corresponds to the earliest form of dimeter rhythm (§ 201). This we seem bound to recognize as the earliest form of trimeter verse in the *Rigveda*. But the different variations which together contribute to this general rhythm do not disappear simultaneously. Just when the cretics and most other variations are becoming rare, we find a development of the iambic rhythm, especially in connexion with the secondary caesura: this rhythm affecting chiefly the break, but to some extent the opening also. Thus the iambic and cretic variations no longer appear as contrasted, but as characterizing successive stages in the development of the metre. To a certain extent these variations even overlap, as in the hymns 1.116-119 and in the third *Mandala*. The iambic variations cease therefore to be regarded as in themselves evidence of the earliest date: and indeed it has been noticed above (§§ 94 v, 207 m) that they are not uncommon in some comparatively late hymns.

These facts supply us with an explanation of the development of the cretic break: it is the shifting of the rhythm which follows a late caesura in the *Vāsisṭhī* verse to a similar position following an early caesura.

The considerations discussed in this chapter have led us to assign to the same period two of the largest family collections, those of *Vāmadeva* and *Vasiṣṭha*: whilst several others are assigned to neighbouring periods. Earlier enquiries into the history of the *Rigveda* have generally taken the form of an attempt to arrange the separate family collections in order of time: but this point of view now appears to be of subordinate importance. It would seem more correct to think of all the family collections on the larger scale as practically contemporaneous, and to speak of a

period of the family collections as contrasted with an earlier period of small collections and later periods in which the distinction of families had disappeared.

Of all parts of the verse the opening lends itself least to historical treatment. We can however find no explanation of the comparative frequency of short final vowels in the second place except by assuming it to be a survival of a metrical freedom originally used in syllables of all kinds. In this case the rule prohibiting the use of consecutive short syllables in the second and third places can hardly have existed in the pre-Vedic period though the occurrence of such a combination would not have been very common owing to the general preference for long syllables in the opening (§ 35).

237 From the history of trimeter rhythm in the Rigveda we pass naturally to the consideration of its probable rhythm in the pre-Vedic period. As to this we can only form conjectures by observing the trend of change from the earliest Vedic period onwards.

In that earliest period iambic variations are no more common than many other irregularities they are however under certain conditions, on the increase. There is therefore no reason to suppose that pre-Vedic verse used iambic rhythm at the break and the rule laid down in § 45 that the caesura must be followed by two short syllables seems most probable for the pre-Vedic period also.

The caesura appears indifferently after the fourth or fifth syllable in every part of the Rigveda yet there is some slight reason for thinking the early caesura to be the normal position for the need for variety in the opening is more felt when the caesura is in that position.

With regard to the cadence we notice that, whilst in the earliest period Tristubh hymns only rarely exhibit Jagati cadence and Jagati hymns can hardly be found the lyric hymns admit Tristubh cadence in their trimeter verses with some freedom. It would seem to be a probable interpretation of these facts that Tristubh was originally the dominant metre and that the uneven lyric hymns shew Jagati verse in process of development from it through the influence of dimeter verse.

Although the secondary caesura is not specially characteristic

of the earliest period, yet its possibility seems to point to recognition by the earliest poets of a division of the verse at point, corresponding more or less to the analysis of the metres into 'feet'

From these considerations we seem to arrive at the following scheme as representing the dominant form of pre-Vedic trimeter verse, and as the possible starting-point of the development of Vedic forms generally

$$\approx (\approx) \approx (\approx) \parallel \cup \cup - - | \cup - \approx$$

all the symbols being understood to mark preferences far marked than those of the Rigveda generally

(i) This conclusion corresponds as far as regards the opening that reached in § 201 for dimeter verse. In the history of the Rig the two forms gradually diverge, dimeter verse preferring the long syllable, the trimeter verse inclining towards the short fluid syllable.

(ii) The presumed pre-Vedic forms of dimeter and trimeter approximate to some extent to the non-quantitative verse of the Avesta, inasmuch as almost every possible rhythm is occasionally found in this direction much is still left unexplained.

(iii) Analogies drawn from Greek metrie might suggest to us that the two parts of trimeter verse were derived from two separate verses, but we must reject this view, as there is no trace of *syllaba anapaesta* either before or after the caesura.

**238** The chief problems that remain are three (i) what is the origin of the rhythm  $\cup \cup - -$  (*ionicus a minore*) in the second member of trimeter verse? (ii) what is the origin of decasyllable metre? and lastly (iii) why is the iambic rhythm, both in dimeter and trimeter verse, encroached upon in the opening by long syllables, in the cadence by short syllables?

To these questions the following conjectural answers may be given

(i) In the development of trimeter verse the caesura is prior to any differentiation of quantity. The natural pause at the caesura for taking breath made it convenient that short syllables should follow. From this beginning a preference for long or short syllables spread in both directions on the principle of alternation, in successive waves not always producing identical metrical results. This process never affected the extremities of the verse.

(ii) Decasyllabic Tristubh does not arise from the equivalence of one long syllable to two short (of which there is no trace in the R̥gveda) nor from contamination of two forms in which the caesura is in different positions nor is it an indirect result of the process of syllabic contraction. Against any of these suppositions stands the fact that the Vir̥ṣṭhān̥ verse which we can most certainly trace to the archaic period has a rhythm which is distinct from that which would be reached by any of these processes. It seems therefore to follow that this form of verse is a direct and independent result of the natural pause at the caesura that is, that the rest is the starting point of the development, and that this causes directly a preference for a long sixth syllable, and that the long sixth syllable (here as always) causes a secondary preference for a short seventh syllable.

The decasyllabic metres we take to be a development from decasyllabic Tristubh verses.

If this explanation is correct the Gāntarī verse (§ 226 iii) has considerable interest, because in this type of decasyllabic verse the rest is actually followed by two long syllables, quite contrary to the ordinary rhythm of the break.

The neutral rests may well be later in date than the Vir̥ṣṭhān̥ verse, and may represent an assimilation of the decasyllabic verse to the normal trimeter type assimilation in the opposite direction being represented by the iambic rhythm of the Vās̥ṭha hymns.

(iii) For an explanation of the preference for short syllables in the cadence (§ 35) it is most natural to look to dimeter verse in which the contrast between the opening and the cadence is most marked. The comparative favour shewn to a short sixth syllable is not however easy to explain it may be due to the influence of the trimeter rhythm at the break. There can be no doubt that a strong desire to differentiate the opening and the cadence in dimeter verse contributed to maintain this distinction whatever its origin may have been.

Whatever explanations may be adopted as to particular facts, it is clear that both dimeter and trimeter verse had a long history of development before the Vedic period. For the history of trimeter verse after the Vedic time it must suffice here to refer to Dr R. Kühnans *Die Tristubh-Jagati-Familie* (Göttingen 1886).

## CHAPTER IX

### THE LESS USUAL METRES—STANZAS AND STROPHES

**239** WITH the conclusion of the analysis of dimeter and trimeter verse the discussion of Vedic metre is in the main complete. the combination of verses into stanzas and strophes being usually so simple that it has been sufficiently explained in the General Introduction. There remain however for consideration a number of hymns, chiefly belonging to the earlier periods of Vedic poetry, which are constructed upon principles which differ from those already discussed in detail. In these hymns the rhythm or internal structure is on the whole of comparatively small importance, whilst the number of syllables in the verse, and the combination of verses into stanzas and of stanzas into strophes, that is to say, the elements of the 'external structure' (§ 30) require to be carefully considered. This inquiry is of a much easier kind than those in which we have so far been engaged. It will be found that most of the hymns to be examined belong to groups that are fairly well defined, and which include one or two standard types and a number of variations which only slightly depart from them. Such groups are (i) the 'uneven lyric' hymns, (ii) the lyric and dimeter triplets, amongst which *Usnīh* and *Gāyatī* are most prominent, (iii) the *Kakubh-Satobhratī* and *Brhatī-Satobihatī* strophes, (iv) the *Atyastī* hymns and (v) the decasyllabic metres. After the consideration of the separate groups it will be possible to discuss the few hymns which do not fall into the classification, and to consider the relationship of the groups to one another and to the bulk of the hymns in the *Rigveda*, and also such traces of strophic arrangement as can be found in ordinary trimeter verse.

240 The uneven lyric metres have been defined in § 27 as those which combine in one stanza verses of eight and eleven syllables. A list of such hymns has been given in § 190 and we have seen reason to believe that the dimeter and trimeter verses which they contain represent the earliest Vedic types of these two kinds of verse (§§ 196-233). The irregularity shown in these hymns as they stand in the Śaṅkara text is a further indication of their antiquity since in the R̥gveda proper a fixed but strictness of metrical regulation increases in the later periods.

The antiquity of these hymns may cause irregularities in the text in various ways. Some are due to the lack of strict metrical principle which characterized the early verse, others to the perplexities of the reciters and scribes in preserving the tradition of poems of which both the dialect and the metre were becoming strange to them. Hence in these hymns questions of emendation assume an importance unusual in the R̥gveda, and it becomes impossible to feel confident as to the original form of many of the stanzas. Where however difficulties of metre and of interpretation occur in the same stanza it will be justifiable to look to the composition of the hymn as a whole as a guide, and though it may not be practicable to restore with any certainty the original form yet it will appear that there is little justification for the complete despair with which the metre of some of these hymns has been regarded by Western critics.

241 The following principles are suggested as a clue to the difficulties of the uneven lyric hymns.

(i) The number of verses in the stanza is not fixed: the concluding stanza in particular is often made of greater length as in the *Atri Anuśubh* by repeating one or more of the verses in the scheme.

(ii) The succession of dimeter and trimeter verses is seldom quite regular: in particular dimeter verses are occasionally replaced by trimeter.

(iii) By contamination of the endonees of the two kinds of verse the dimeter verse is often sometimes almost regularly reduced to seven syllables whilst the trimeter verse is with varying regularity extended to twelve syllables and thus approximates to that used in lyric verse.

(iv) Amongst the trimeter verses decasyllabic variations are common

The discussion will be the more readily followed if we begin with the hymns in which the metre causes the least difficulty, and reserve to the last those in which either the metre is very complicated or the text less satisfactory than usual

**242** The easier hymns to interpret are of course those which come nearest to the regular lyric metres. These hymns are v 24, x 93 and x 132, to which should perhaps be added i 127, 129 and 150, and viii 35. Looked at from the later standpoint, these are lyric hymns marked by somewhat frequent *catalexes* both of the dimeter and the trimeter verses but regarded historically some or all of them mark a transition stage between the 'uneven lyric' and the lyric metres. Such further difficulties as appear in the separate hymns are easily explained by the principles stated in the last section

(i) The hymn i 127 can hardly be separated from the whole group i 127-139, which we have seen reason to regard as not quite of the earliest date (§§ 201, 234). But catalectic verses are somewhat common, occurring as 1a 2a 10d 11e, and there are also several irregularities of rhythm. Of the other hymns in this group only i 129 has the same characteristics, but they occur less frequently, the catalectic verses being 5f 8a 8e

(ii) i 150 is treated by the Anukramanī as an Uśnīh hymn, but of its three trimeter verses only one (2c) has more than 11 syllables: the probable standard is therefore 8 8 11

(iii) v 24 is conveniently included here, though the type is rather 8 8 3 than 8 11. Only in 1c (*varūthīah*) do we find four syllables in the short verse

(iv) The hymn viii 35, like i 127, belongs to a group from which it cannot easily be detached, but its peculiar structure deserves notice. The regular type of the stanza is 12 12 12 8, and the stanzas are grouped in triplets, the last three verses of the stanza being the same throughout each triplet. Of the 21 initial verses 4 have catalectic cadence, namely 6a 13a 14a 15a, and of the 21 refrain verses 2, namely 10b=11b=12b and 16b=17b=18b

(v) The hymn x 93 approximates to the type 12 12 8 8, and is accordingly described by Indian tradition, after a careful counting of the whole number of syllables, as of the *Prastārapankti* metre. Of the trimeter verses, however, 1a 1b 4a 4b 14a 14b are certainly catalectic (14b being also 'hybrid'), and 12a 12b may be read as catalectic. Of the dimeter verses 2d is certainly catalectic, and 5c 9b 9d 13d 14d may be so read. The hymn therefore appears to be associated with the 'uneven lyric metres' in the irregularity of the cadence

With this limitation ten of the fifteen stanzas correspond to the type described. Stanza 9 is of the type 12 8 8 8 8, and stanza 15 of the type 12 8 8 8 these stanzas show the irregularity of external structure which characterizes the uneven lyric metres. The remaining stanzas 1, 3 and 13 are described in the Anukramanī as Anuṣṭubh this may be correct, but in any case some emendation is required in each, and it is quite likely that each of the original stanzas contained at least one trimeter verse. In this case they may have run somewhat as follows

यज्ज्ञो यज्ज्ञो ॥ अपर्याप्तो अहं देवि  
यत्नं सुमन्त्रं दिग्धातुताम  
देवदेवो अग्नेह. 2

चित्राक्षो यज्ज्ञो चित्राक्षो  
देवदेवो मातुहं अहं  
चित्रो अहं चित्राक्षो  
चित्रो यज्ज्ञो यज्ज्ञो. 3

यज्ञो रक्षो यज्ञो रक्षो  
यज्ञो रक्षो यज्ञो रक्षो  
यज्ञो रक्षो यज्ञो रक्षो  
यज्ञो रक्षो यज्ञो रक्षो. 13

(vi) The hymn x 132 approximates to the same standard 12 12 8 8 stanza 6 is exactly of this type, and stanza 7 can be read in the same way. The final stanza 7 has an extra dimeter verse, and 10 is catalectic. In stanza 4 (11 11 7 11) all four verses are catalectic, and there can be little doubt that stanzas 3 and 5 are substantially of the same type in this case 3c requires correction, perhaps to *yadā vā pūṣyati dadadā*. In stanza 1 only the first verse causes any difficulty metre and meaning would be adequately represented by some such verse as *ijāndm id ॥ vāṣund dyauh pṛakṣu*.

243 In x 22 we have an isolated but almost perfect example of an uneven lyric hymn the type being 11 8 8 8. The position of this hymn in the Vamada collection enables us definitely to assign it to the same period as the earliest forms of Anuṣṭubh verse (§ 201).

The metre is termed *Purastādbṛhātī* in the Anukramanī as though the type were 12 8 8 8 and stanzas 5 7 and 9 are described as Anuṣṭubh. Of the opening verses of these three stanzas 5a is Trisṭubh, if we read *vāṣatasya* (§ 142 v) 9a is Trisṭubh with a double rest (§ 296) 7a alone is dimeter and probably needs correction.

Of the initial verses only 3a and 11a have Jagati cadence, but many have rests or other archaic variations of the dimeter verses 3c 5b and 6c are probably to be read as catalectic.

The whole number of stanzas is the same as in x 93 but the last stanza is Trisṭubh.



244 The more difficult hymns of this class are 1 88, 1 120 1-9, and x 105. But although it may not be possible to determine the original form of each stanza in these hymns, we can feel confident that the general type in the mind of the composer was for 1 88 11 11 7 11, for 1 120 11' 11 7, and for x 105 11 7 11. In these hymns therefore the Tristubh or trochaic cadence is generally found in both the trimeter and the dimeter verses.

(1) In 1 88 stanza 5 may be taken as giving the normal type, namely

*etat trān ná || yōjanam acetī  
sasvár ha yān || maruto gótamo vah  
pāsyan hīranyacakrān  
āyodamṣṭrān || vidhāvato varāhūn*

If this is so, stanza 1 diverges by having a full dimeter verse, and stanzas 3 and 4 diverge by having trimeter verses in the third place, whilst stanza 6 has a dimeter verse in the fourth place. 2c which contains nine syllables must in any case be emended. In addition we have two irregular forms of Tristubh verse, 1b being hypersyllabic (§ 224), and 1d having a double rest (§ 226).

(11) In 1 120 1-9 both metre and meaning are very obscure in many of the stanzas. The starting-point for the interpretation of both is to be found in stanza 8, which gives us a metrical type 11 11 7, and also indicates that the matter of the hymn is exactly what is usual in hymns to the Ásvins. It follows that the text has been violently disturbed in some of the other stanzas, and needs correction. On the analogy of 1 88 we may infer that the third verse will not always be of seven syllables, but may appear as a dimeter or a Tristubh verse. In stanza 4 we find an additional verse of 7 syllables.

It would be beyond the scope of this book to discuss possible emendations of the text as such, but the metrical effect of the original hymn may have been somewhat as follows

<i>kā †iādhātī    hōtarā asvinā vām kó vām jósum    ubhāyo á vidhātī kathā †dāsād āpnacetāh.</i>	1
<i>vidvāṁsā it    †kāha †pricchātī †sántā āvidvān rthā    āpā a acetāh nū cin nū mārta †asyāt</i>	2
<i>†āvidvāṁsah    havāmahe †vayám vām tā no vidvāṁsā    mánma †ā †jṣethām prá †rvi cyād    dāyamāno yuvākūh</i>	3
<i>vī pricchāmi    pākīā †cid †vatānī váṣath, tasya    †adhvarásya dasīā tā pātām sáhyaso nah pātām ca rabhyaso nah</i>	4



(iv) Isolated stanzas of the uneven lyric type appear to occur as follows in viii 46 20 of the type 11 8 11 8 in viii 46 14 of the type 13 8 14, see Appendix III, No 18 in iii 21 4 as '11 11 11 8 in v 19 5 (unless the text is corrected) of the type 8 11 11 11. For similar stanzas in the popular R̥gveda see Appendix III (§ 253), Nos 35 and 39

**245** Almost the whole of the lyric verse in the R̥gveda, and a large proportion of the dimeter hymns, shew a system of grouping of stanzas. The most common grouping is that of three stanzas to make a metrical unit, the hymn consisting of any number of such units. Owing to the disconnected character of the Vedic poems, it might not always be easy to trace this grouping by the meaning but it is easily recognized by the great number of hymns in which the number of stanzas is some multiple of 3, and by the fact that changes of metre so commonly take place after each third stanza.

A group of three stanzas may be called a *triplet*. The principal kinds of triplets in the R̥gveda are the following (i) Usn̥h or other homogeneous lyric triplets, (ii) triplets of mixed lyric metres, or of lyric metres combined with Gāyatrī, Tristubh, or Anustubh, (iii) Gāyatrī or Anustubh triplets, (iv) triplets in which Anustubh and Gāyatrī are combined in some systematic way. In trimeter verse triplets are not common, and we defer the discussion of this point (see § 251 1).

It is probable that the system of grouping is at times carried further, and in particular that groups of three or five triplets are deliberately combined to form a larger whole. In the former case an extra stanza is often added to the last triplet, so that the poem as a whole consists of ten stanzas in the one case and fifteen in the second.

(1) Hymns in Usn̥h metre, whether of the type 8 ' 8 8 4 or the type 8 8 12, are almost invariably grouped in triplets. The list of hymns is given in § 186. The only stanzas not so grouped are found in vi 43 (4 Usn̥h stanzas), viii 18 22, ix 102 (8 stanzas), 106 13, 14 (2 stanzas) see also subsection 11.

Triplets of the Atyasti type are found in i 130, 132, 134-137, v 87 and ix 111. See also § 247 11. A triplet of the type 12 8 12 is found in ix 110 1-3. For Bihatī triplets see § 246 iv.

(ii) It very often appears from the general arrangement of a hymn which contains a large proportion of lyric stanzas that the stanzas are grouped in triplets, although the stanzas which form the triplet are not homogeneous, nor grouped according to any recognizable system.

Mixed lyric triplet are found in vii 9 4-6, 98 9, 10 12 and also frequently where a kakubh-Satobhrati or Brhati-Satobhrati strophe is included for the latter class see § 216 L.

Triplets in which lyric metres are contained with dactylic verse or with Tristubh are found as follows i 91 16-18 ii 41 16-18 \*iii 28 1-3 v 61 9-11, vi 1 16-18 vii 11 viii 2 37-39, 9 13-1 11 28-30, \*6 20-22 23 2 36 12 24 10 13 1 89

(iii) Of the Gayatri and Anustubh verse contained in the Rigveda a very large proportion is grouped in triplets the system extends to the epic Anustubh verse of the popular Rigveda.

A grouping of this kind is usually to be inferred where the number of Gayatri verses in a hymn is a multiple of 9 or the number of Anustubh verses a multiple of 12 see the Table of Hymns appended to Ch. V.

(iv) The grouping of Anustubh and Gayatri together in triplets is a very simple and effective arrangement. Usually the first stanza alone in the triplet is Anustubh of this we have examples in v 28 4-6 82 1-3 vii 3 21-23 9 19-21, 63 1-3, 7-9, 68 1-12, \*4 1-12 92 1-3 ix 101 1-3. Two Anustubh stanzas are followed by a Gayatri stanza in vii 63 4-6 x 6 8-10. Two Gayatri stanzas are followed by an Anustubh stanza in i 43 7, vi 46 31-33, ix 67 22-27.

Similar groups each consisting of five stanzas are perhaps to be found in vii 31 4, 6-14, 69 7-1 12-16.

(v) More complicated groupings are chiefly found in Gayatri verse. Groups of nine stanzas are found in i 1 16 17 19 41 43 80 1-9 iii 11 12, 40-42 vii 11 1-9, 72, 73 77 1-9, \*9 80 1-9, 81-85 10<sup>a</sup> 1-18 ix 6-13 x 118. Groups of ten stanzas are found in i 4-9 26 42, 86 ii 37 1-10 iv 16 viii 17 1-10, 38 ix 1-4. Groups of fifteen stanzas are found in i 37 38 46 iv 31 vi 16 1-4 viii 6 1-4 14 32, 34 1-15, 44.

246. The combination of a kakubh or Brhati stanza with an Satobhrati stanza so as to form a *strophe* is a well marked feature of certain parts of the Rigveda, and in particular of the Sobhari Vasiṣṭha, and Kanva collections. The beginnings of the system may be traced back to the lyric triplets, in which some third stanza is combined with kakubh or Brhati and Satobhrati and there is an intermediate stage in which the combination is in pairs of stanzas but many slight variations are permissible. The strophes are so far treated as single stanzas, that they are themselves frequently combined in triplets.

(i) Kakubh-Satobhrati and Brhati-Satobhrati strophes are found combined with some third stanza (often 12 8 8 Puruṣa sh) making a triplet as follows vi 48 13-15 (Pur. B.-Sat.) 16-18 (Kak.-Sat., Pur.) 19-21 (B. B.-Sat.) vii 96 1-3 (B.-Sat. Prastārapaṅkti) viii 4 19-21 (B. Sat. Pur.) x 63 5-7 (An. B.-Sat.). In vi 48 variations from the strict

type occur for which see the Appendix to this chapter as follows  
 15 No 63, 21 No 60

(ii) Kakubh-Satobṛhatī strophes are found in triplets in viii 19-21, 22 7-18, with the following irregularities, in viii 19 we find an extended strophe (12 8 12 8 12 8) as 26-27, and 37 as it stands is Pankti, though by rearrangement of the words Satobṛhatī may be restored, and in viii 22 stanza 7 is Bṛhatī, stanza 8 is Anustubh, and stanza 12 of the type 12 8 12 12. Another such triplet is probably to be found in viii 103 8-13, although stanza 10 is in the text only Gāyatrī, and in ix 108 stanzas 1-6 and 7-12 are probably triplets.

Strophes not arranged in triplets are only found in v 53 5-6, 15-16 and ix 108 13-16. Isolated Kakubh verses do not occur.

(iii) Bṛhatī Satobṛhatī strophes are found in triplets as follows  
 iii 16, vi 48 1-12, vii 16, 32, 59 1-6, 66 10-15, 74, 81, viii 4 1-18, 10, 22 1-6, 61, 70 1-6, 71 10-15, 87, 88, 90, 101 1-12, ix 107.

The hymns named contain the following irregularities. In vi 48 stanzas 6 and 8 are of the type 12 8 12 8 8, 7 is of the type 8 8 12 8 8, and 11 is Kakubh. In vii 32 we have an extended Satobṛhatī stanza as 2-3, of the type 12 8 12 8 12 8. In viii 10 1-6 stanzas 2 and 4 are variations on Satobṛhatī, of the respective types 12 8 12 12 and 8 8 12 12. In viii 101 stanza 3 is Gāyatrī, and there is an appended Bṛhatī stanza after stanza 12. In ix 107 we have extended Satobṛhatī stanzas of the same type as above as 2-3 and 15-16, for stanza 9 see §§ 142 ii, 151 i, 228 i.

In v 56 we have a hymn of nine stanzas, of which two only are Satobṛhatī and the rest Bṛhatī.

Similar strophes not arranged in triplets are regular in the Kanva hymns, and i 36, 39, 40, 44, 47, 48, viii 3 1-20, and 49-54 are so composed. Elsewhere we find the hymns vi 46, viii 27, 60, 66 1-14, 99 composed of these strophes.

The Kanva hymns contain no irregularities.

Detached strophes occur i 84 19-20, viii 1 1-4, 17 14-15, 46 11-12<sup>1</sup>, 25-26, 27-28, 77 10-11, 89 1-4, 103 4-7, x 33 2-3. Here viii 46 12 is of the type 8 12 8 12, and viii 103 5 of the type 11 12 12 8.

<sup>1</sup> See § 248 iii.

(iv) Bṛhatī stanzas occur in triplets in vi 59 1-6, viii 33 1-15, 62 7-9<sup>1</sup>, 70 7-12, 97 1-9, x 150 1-3. Other Bṛhatī hymns are iii 44, 45, viii 1 5-32. Detached stanzas are found as i 139 5, \*170 1, iii 53 18, v 53 2, vi 15 18, 42 4, 47 19, 60 14, viii 30 3, 46 7<sup>1</sup>, 11, 19, 69 17, 18, 78 10, ix 98 11, 99 1, \*x 14 15, \*101 5, \*102 1, 3, 12. For the position of this metre in the later parts of the R̥gveda see § 94 i.

<sup>1</sup> These are 'Dimeter Brhatī' stanzas, the type being 8 8 8 4 8.

(v) Satobṛhatī and the allied metres are very rarely found outside the strophic system, but there are three hymns near the end of the tenth Mandala which are so composed, namely x 140, 144, and 150. In x 140 the first two stanzas are *Viśtārāpankti* (8 12 12 8), stanzas 3-5 Satobṛhatī, and 6 is *Uparistājyotiḥ* (12 12 12 8). In x 144 the first

two of these metres are combined with Brhatti and Gāyatrī. In x 150 a Brhatti triplet is followed by two stanzas in *Upavīṭijjotā*.

All these hymns must necessarily be referred to a very early Vedic period.

247 The Atyasī metre is the most common form of a group of lyric metres which are characterized by the large number of verses included in one stanza. The whole group may be regarded as a development of the Satobṛhatti metre in its extended form 12 8 12 8 12 8 (§ 246 ii) or through the metre of v 87 (12 12 12 8 8).

The Atyasī group of metres is amongst the latest productions of the archaic period and presupposes a long development of the lyric stanza but the view entertained by many Western critics that hymns in these metres belong to the later additions to the R̥gveda is entirely untenable. A correct appreciation of this metre is given by A. Ludwig *R̥gveda* iv xxxi-xxxii.

(i) There are about 90 varieties of stanza belonging to the Atyasī group: their common features are that they have at least five verses to the stanza, of which two at least are trimeter and two at least dimeter and that (with rare exceptions) the stanza begins with a trimeter and ends with a dimeter verse.

The standard Atyasī metre of which the type is 12 12 8 | 8 8, 12 8 8 is as common as all the rest put together but on account of its length it must be regarded as almost the latest in development.

(ii) Hymns composed in standard Atyasī triplets are i 130 131 134 136 and ix 111 v 8; consists of triplets of stanzas of the type 12 12 12 8 8 137 of a triplet of the type 8 8 8 | 8 8 12 8 and i 135 of triplets which are chiefly Atyasī but partly of an allied type (12 12 8 | 12 12 8). Hymns i 130 and 136 have each also an appended Trisṭubh stanza.

Other hymns in Atyasī are i 124-129 131 133 6-7 138, 139 in which the following stanzas differ from the standard i 127 6, 129 8, 9, 133 6 whilst i 139 8 is a Brhatti stanza. See Appendix III (§ 253) Nos. 74 77 80 81 85 and 88.

The triplet iv 1-3 consists of mixed metres of this group and is followed by a Trisṭubh hymn. See Appendix III (§ 253) Nos. 63 65 and 83.

(iii) In ii 23 we have a metre which seems to be similar in principle to Atyasī. In stanzas 2 and 3 the type is 12 4 | 12 4 | 12 8 8 but the last two dimeter verses (which belong to a refrain) are unrhythmical. The first stanza only differs by having an additional verse of four syllables after a. The concluding stanza is in the text of the type 24 | 12 4 | 12 8 4 | but it is probable that the first section admits of some analysis. See Appendix III (§ 253) Nos. 79 84 and 87.

(iv) In viii 35-37 the metries appear to be allied viii 35 (12 12 12 8) does not indeed come within our definition in subsection 1, and has points of contact with the uneven lyric metries but viii 36 1-6 is of the type 12 12 | 8 8 8 8, and the concluding stanza only differs in having one dimeter verse less. For the similar metries found in viii 37 see Appendix III (§ 253) Nos 70 and 71

248 The grouping of stanzas is so regular in those hymns in which the lyric metries are used, that some disorder in the text may be suspected where an arrangement in triplets or strophes does not come to light. Such hymns are v 53, viii 30, and viii 46. In addition the Āstarapankti hymns of Vīmada (v 21, 24 1-3, 25) shew no clear indication of grouping.

(i) v 53. In this hymn stanza 4 may be interpreted as Kakubh by reading *ṛṣiṣu* in 4a (§ 170 iii), and thus the number of the detached Kakubh stanzas (1, 4, 10, 11) becomes equal to that of the detached Satobhātī stanzas (7, 9, 13, 14). As there are also two strophes (5-6, 15-16) in the hymn, and only 4 stanzas of quite different type, it seems probable that the original hymn was composed entirely in Kakubh-Satobhātī, but has not been faithfully preserved.

(ii) viii 30. Here a triplet in mixed metries (1 Gāyatrī, 2 Pūruṣmī, 3 Bīhātī) is followed by an appended Anustubh stanza.

(iii) viii 46. This is the most varied hymn in the R̥gveda, but contains many groups. 1-6 Gāyatrī triplets. 5 is in the text Dimeter Kakubh, but probably *suṛīnam* should be omitted. 7 Dim Bīhātī. 8 Anustubh. 9 Satobhātī. 10 Gāyatrī. 11-12 Bīhātī followed by stanza 8 12 8 12 in place of Satobhātī. 13 Dvīpadā Jagatī. 14 is a Satobhātī stanza: the first verse is hyper-syllabic, and the fourth is represented only by the initial word *yāthā*. 15 as 13 omit the concluding words *nūnam ātha*. 16 probably the same as 14, but requiring considerable restoration. 17 The type is 12 12 | 12 8 8, as in v 87: the third verse requires restoration. 18 Upaṇstādbīhātī. 19-20 Bīhātī. 20 is either disordered or is in uneven lyric metre. 21 Pankti. 22 Stanza of type 12 8 | 8 8 8 representing Satobhātī. 23 Gāyatrī. 24 Pankti. 25-28 Bīhātī-Satobhātī strophes. 29-33 Dimeter stanzas, except that 30a is trimeter: in 31c *satā* should perhaps be omitted. It seems probable that stanzas 1 to 12 are arranged in triplets, and 13 to 28 in strophes each containing two stanzas.

249 The internal structure or rhythm of decasyllabic verses has been examined in the last chapter (§§ 228-230). It therefore only remains here to consider the building up of such verses into stanzas and strophes in the hymns that have already been distinguished as composed in *decasyllabic metries*, and to measure the extent to which these hymns are differentiated from the less regular trimeter hymns from which they have originated.

The most important of these metres is the *Dvipada Virāj* or *Pentad* metre. There are a few hymns in which *Pentad* and *Trisṭubh* verses are combined but in the greater number *Trisṭubh* verses are so rare that they may practically be disregarded. In those which we may call the *pure Pentad* hymns, we observe that the original trimeter verse is split and becomes two verses and these two exercise a mutual influence which tends towards their complete assimilation. This point seems to be reached in the metre of ix 10 in which three pentads are followed by a *Trisṭubh* verse in each stanza. *Pentad* hymns are usually arranged in strophes of ten stanzas each of which consists of two trimeter verses or four pentads.

(i) The mixed *Pentad* hymns are vi 44 7-9, x 1 6 and 46. In these hymns about two-thirds of the verses are ordinary *Trisṭubh* verses, and of the remainder three-quarters are *Pentad* verses and one-quarter belong to other decasyllabic types. The stanzas consist of four trimeter verses, and the two parts of each verse retain their original character: thus the quantity of the third syllable is indifferent but the ninth is almost invariably short. The strophe-formation varies: the first hymn named consists of a triplet the second and third of seven stanzas each, and only the last of ten stanzas.

(ii) The *pure Pentad* hymns are i 65-70 vii 34 1-21 56 1-11 and ix 109. These hymns contain together over 200 verses, of which only nine are *Trisṭubh* verses. In vii 34 and 56 the seventh syllable (the initial syllable of the second *Pentad*) is long in one-third of the instances, in the other hymns in one-half but here the effects of the *rest* and of *assimilation* coincide. The third syllable, almost indifferent in quantity in trimeter verse is in these hymns short in almost three-quarters of the instances whilst the corresponding ninth syllable, always short in trimeter verse, is in these hymns long in one-seventh of the instances (§ 220 iii) these two changes appear to be due to mutual assimilation.

It is remarkable that the fifth syllable is long in three-quarters of the instances, so that (in spite of the tenancy to assimilate) this syllable does not become *syllaba anorpa*.

All the *Pentad* hymns are arranged in strophes consisting of five double stanzas, but some add a final stanza, so that the total number is 10 11 or 21. In ix 109 there is also an additional stanza in another metre (8 4 8) which hardly seems to belong to the hymn. The number of stanzas in the strophe thus corresponds exactly to the number of syllables in the verse.

(iii) The metre found in iv 10 consists of three *Pentads* followed by a *Trisṭubh* verse, as for instance

*agnā idm adyā*  
*dācānā nā stomānā*  
*krdtūnā nā bhadrānā*  
*hṛdīpftānā, pādīdānā tā bhānā.*



In the fifth stanza there are four Pentads besides the Tristubh verse, the last of these being evidently a repetition of the third

The rhythm of the first pentad in each stanza is the same as in the Pentad hymns, and that of the last pentad (the last two in stanza 5) the same as in the second pentad in those hymns. As to the middle pentad it is hardly possible to make a safe inference from 8 occurrences only so far as can be observed, the quantity both in the third and in the fifth place is indifferent

The strophe-formation is very uncertain perhaps we have a strophe of five stanzas followed by a triplet

250 The remaining hymns in decasyllabic metre are 11 11 (Virātsthānā) and x 77, 78 (Bhāgavī) to which may perhaps be added 1 61 as shewing at least the beginnings of a new decasyllabic stanza (Gautamī). Although none of these metres become established in the same way as the Pentad metre, they appear to be clearly conceived by the poets in the special hymns in which they appear

An arrangement in strophes of five stanzas is probable

(1) The hymn 11 11 consists of 20 Virātsthānā stanzas followed by one Tristubh stanza it therefore corresponds in the number of stanzas with the Pentad hymns 11 34 and 1x 109

Of the 80 verses in the Virātsthānā stanzas 43 must necessarily be read as Virātsthānā verses, 8 more if *indā* is read (as seems certain in this hymn) as a disyllable, and yet 8 more if we abstain from resolutions which are permissible but not necessary so that we have 59 verses or three quarters of the whole number which are of the Virātsthānā type. The verses in which we abstain from possible resolutions are 2d (*ukthāh* § 151 m), 4d (*dāsīh* § 151 1), 5a (*gūhīyam* § 136 1), 5c (*dyām* § 142 1), 12a (*āpy abhāma* § 125), 13a (*syāma* § 147), 15a (*vyāntu* § 140 m), 19d (*sākhyāśya* § 137)

Of the remaining verses 12 have the Virātsthānā ending, but appear to have five syllables in the opening. Here, if the text is correct, we seem to have contamination of the two metres. But in 4c 6a it is possible to omit *indā* as a gloss, and in 6b it seems desirable to read *stavā* for *stavāma* in 3a 17a *ukthésu nū ugrésu nū* seem more probable than *ukthésvid nū, ugrésvid nū*. In 9d 10b 12d 13c 17b 19a 20a the verse certainly has eleven syllables. There are 4 regular Tristubh verses only, namely 1d 2b 8d 12b, and 5 which shew various irregularities other than those already described, namely 3b 7d 10d 15c 17d

In the Virātsthānā verses the seventh syllable is usually short

(11) The Bhāgavī hymns x 77, 78 each consist of eight stanzas, and in each case only five stanzas out of the eight shew the special metre. It is natural therefore to regard these hymns as composite x 77 consisting of a Bhāgavī strophe of five stanzas followed by a Tristubh triplet, and x 78 of a similar strophe followed by a Jagatī triplet, of which, however, the last stanza is Tristubh. On this supposition it becomes necessary to transpose stanzas 5 and 6 in x 78

In the Bhārgavi strophes there are 11 verses out of 30 which do not conform to either of the Bhārgavi types (1<sup>o</sup>) of these verses 7 have eleven syllables and 4 have twelve but all agree in having Jagati cadence. There can therefore be no doubt that we have to deal with a variation of Jagati verse though the Anukramāṇī by means of counting the syllables discovers most of them to be Tristubh.

Between the two types of Bhārgavi verse it is impossible to distinguish satisfactorily as a large proportion of the verses may be classed with either according as we place the caesura before or after *ni*.

(ii) In 161 the regular Tristubh verses number 30 out of 63 or rather less than half the Virāt thānā verses are 10 in number (Gautami verses 2 and other regular verses 14). No special importance would attach to the Gautami verses, except for their extreme rarity in other parts of the R̥gveda as it is there appears to be an attempt to create a new type similar to Virāt thānā and in stanza 13 no less than three verses out of four are of this type as follows

<i>a yed u</i>	<i>a jñā brāh̥m̐ pīr̥vā :</i>
<i>tirīya</i>	<i>u kīr̥mānī nītya ulthāth</i>
<i>yudhē yid</i>	<i>u s̥mān̐ d̥yubhānī</i>
<i>ryāyānāno</i>	<i>u nī r̥ndit̐ m̥tr̥m̐</i>

The hymn consists of three strophes each of five stanzas, and an appended Tristubh stanza.

251. In the great body of Tristubh and Jagati verse in the R̥gveda we look in vain for any strophic arrangement. Occasionally there appear indications of a grouping in three, five seven and ten (or eleven) stanzas but the varieties are so numerous that it is quite possible to explain them as due to chance.

Jagati hymns often have a concluding Tristubh stanza and some of the longer hymns have one or two such stanzas towards the end. It is open to question whether this habit has any connexion with grouping in strophes.

(i) Tristubh and Jagati triplets might be expected in the earlier parts of the R̥gveda, but the traces of them are few. They are probable in vi 15 1-15, 44 13-24 and in the Soma hymns ix 86 and 97. Where the stanza consists of three verses only (§ 91 iv), the triplet grouping seems to be more regular as in vi 22, 31 10-12 68 ix 110 4-12. In viii 9 10-12 a triplet is composed of a Tristubh, a Virāj and a Jagati stanza.

(ii) Strophes of five stanzas are certainly found in the group of Indra hymns extending from vi 30 to vi 41 and are further probable in iii 17-23, 44-50 iv 17-20 ix 75-84. See also subsection v.

(iii) Strophes of seven stanzas appear to belong rather to the later periods of the R̥gveda, and may perhaps be associated with the

conduct of the sacrifice by the *saptā hôtārah*. The Āpīya hymns in their original form must have consisted of seven stanzas only, and the hymns vii 2 1-7, 17, and ix 5 1-7 are of this type, though additional verses have been added at a later period to two of these three hymns. Other probable examples, all in Tristubh metre, are the hymns vi 7-9, x 1-7, 79, 80, \*81-84, and \*87 1-21.

(iv) Groups of ten stanzas are probably due to the influence of the Pentad hymns (§ 249) — they may be traced in i 71-73, iii 5-7, 34-36, iv 19-23, ix 68-70. Hymns of eleven stanzas may be explained in the same way, by the addition of a concluding stanza — possible examples are i 53, 54, 185, 186, x 48, 49.

(v) Hymns of 15 and 20 stanzas are more common in the Rīgveda than those which contain an intermediate number, and thus indirectly suggest strophes of five stanzas each. Such hymns are i 32, 33, 51, 52, 121, 122, ii 33-35, iv 1, 2, 4, 5, v 29, 30, 41, 43, 54, vi 49, 50, \*vii 35, x 91, 92. The hymns i 116, 117 each contain 25 stanzas.

(vi) There are about 170 Jagatī hymns in the Rīgveda — of these nearly 100 are composed in Jagatī alone, about 40 have a concluding Tristubh verse, and about 35 have some further admixture of Tristubh.

The relation of these varieties is shewn in the annexed Table. In the archaic period irregular combinations of Jagatī and Tristubh are proportionately common, corresponding to the uneven lyric metres — in the strophic and normal periods pure Jagatī is most common, but in the latter the use of final Tristubh stanzas begins to assert itself, and leads to greater irregularities in the two last periods. The history of contamination within the stanza is exactly similar — see § 223.

TABLE SHEWING THE VARIETIES OF JAGATĪ VERSE

Period	Arch.	Stroph.	Norm.	Cretic	Popular	Total
Pure Jagatī	11	10	48	24	5	98
Jagatī with final Tristubh	3	2	17	15	3	40
Mixed Jagatī	7	1	6	19	3	36
	21	13	71	58	11	174

252 Upon a general view of the development of the external structure of the verse it may be said that the archaic period is characterized by irregularity and variety, the strophic period by regularity and variety — and that the normal and cretic periods are marked by regularity only. From the Western point of view the metrical history of the earlier periods possesses an interest which is wanting later — for the varied forms of the stanza

have their counterpart in modern metres whilst the developement of the internal structure appears artificial and even pedantic. It is therefore perhaps not too much to claim a more human interest for the earlier poetry but on the other hand it may be said that the metrical powers of the Vedic poets were not lessened in the later periods though they were diverted into directions which appeal less readily to modern sympathies.

## APPENDIX III

### THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE STANZA.

253 The following list shews the various forms of the stanza which occur in the R̥gveda. For convenience of reference they are arranged in the ascending order of the number of verses in the stanza, and of the number of syllables in each verse in order. The titles given in the Anukramanī are given when they are practically convenient, but omitted when they are misleading. New titles are given within square brackets.

The number of verses in the stanza varies from two to eight. In the Saṁhitā text the single verses iv 17 15, v 41 20, 42 17, 43 16, and vi 63 11 are treated as stanzas, but in each case the verse really belongs to the preceding stanza. The verse x 20 1 is not a stanza, but an abbreviated quotation of x 25 1.

#### A. STANZAS OF TWO VERSES

1 Type 8 8 *Dr̥ṣṭvā Gāyatrī* A variation of Gāyatrī, occurring in ix 67 16-18. The three stanzas are together equivalent to a Mahāpankti stanza.

2 Type 8 12 Stanzas apparently of this type seem always to be capable of resolution into three verses: see Nos. 6 and 8.

3 Type 11 11 *Dr̥ṣṭvā Trīṣṭubh* This stanza occurs vi 47 25, vii 17, \*x 157 2-5, also according to the text in vi 10 7, 17 15, but these verses may more appropriately be considered as parts of the stanzas preceding: see No. 69.

4 Type 12 8 [*Dr̥ṣṭvā Satob̥hatī*] This metre is regularly used in viii 29, and also appears in the text in viii 46 30. In other instances the verses seem to belong to a preceding Satob̥hatī stanza: see No. 72. In \*x 157 1 the corresponding type 11 8 is found.

5 Type 12 12 [*Dr̥ṣṭvā Jagatī*] A possible interpretation of the stanzas viii 46 13, 15.

## B STANZAS OF THREE VERSES.

- 6 Type 8 4 8 ix 109 12, x 173 3
- 7 Type 8 8 3 occurs v 24 in a hymn of four verses, of which the first is of the type 8 8 4 see § 242 iii.
- 8 Type 8 8 4 x 173 1, 2, 4.
- 9 Type 8 8 8 *Gāyatrī*. Common in all periods see Ch. vii throughout for the strophes see § 245 iii.
- 10 Type 8 8 11 probably aimed at in i 150 see § 242 ii.
- 11 Type 8 8 12 *Uṣṣāh*. Regularly used in triplets, § 245 i.
- 12 Type 8 12 8 *Kakubh*. For the use in lyric triplets see § 245 ii, 246 i in the *Kakubh-Satolrhatti* strophe § 246 ii.
13. Type 11 7 11 Used in x 105 see § 244 iii.
14. Type 11 8 8 This uneven lyric stanza occurs in x 93 ; for which see § 243 v an occurrence in the popular *Rigveda* \*iv 57 ; may be due to some error in the text. It is possible that this is also the metre aimed at in ix 67 30, where each of the last two verses has nine syllables.
- 15 Type 11 11 7 This uneven lyric metre is imperfectly preserved in i 100 1-9 see § 244 ii.
- 16 Type 11 11 11 *Vind* [*Tripadā Triguṣṭhā*]. This metre is established in the strophic period and the stanzas are usually grouped in triplets see § 251 i. Hymns not so arranged are i 149 iii 25 vii 1 1-20 This stanza occurs in i 120 3 in place of No 15
- 17 Type 12 8 8 *Puraṇṣāh*. This stanza usually occurs as the last in a lyric triplet see § 245 ii other occurrences are vi 48 13 viii 30 ; Occurrences in the popular *Rigveda* are doubtful, but appear in the text as \*i 23 19, \*vii 66 16
18. Type 12 8 12. This stanza occurs in ix 110 1-3, and is perhaps the basis of viii 46 14 (13 8 14)
- 19 Type 12 12 12 [*Tripadā Jagatī*]. This stanza is found in triplets in ix 110 4-6, 7-9.

## C STANZAS OF FOUR VERSES.

- 20 Type 5 5 5 5 *Dvāpadā Vind* [*Pentad*]. See § 249
- 21 Type 5 5 5 11 *Padapāṣṭhā*. A variation of No. 20 occurring in iv 10 see § 249 iii.
22. Type 8 4 8 8 [*Dimeter Puraṇṣāh*]. This stanza is found in the text in viii 28 4, 46 3 in each case the short verse is perhaps a gloss, and the stanza really *Gāyatrī*.
- 23 Type 8 8 4 8 [*Dimeter Kakubh*]. Occurs viii 22 11 as a variation of *Kakubh* in the usual strophe see § 246 ii.
- 24 Type 8 8 8 4 [*Dimeter Uṣṣāh*]. For the occurrences see § 192 and for the arrangement in strophes § 245 i.
25. Type 8 8 8 8 *Anuṣṭubh*. See Ch. vii throughout.

26 Type 8 8 12 8 *Bṛhatī* Most regularly in the *Bṛhatī Satobṛhatī* strophe, see § 246 iii occasionally in triplets, § 246 iv in homogeneous hymns and in detached verses, § 246 iv

27 Type 8 8 12 12 In viii 10 4 this stanza represents *Satobṛhatī* see § 246 iii In \*x 170 4 it is probably the accidental result of contamination of *Anustubh* and *Jagatī* verse, cf Nos 35, 39, 46

28 Type 8 11 11 11 A stanza of this type is found in the text v 19 5 either it is to be read as a *Panktī* verse by omitting *vāyūnā* in b, or it is parallel to No 8 see § 244 iv

29 Type 8 12 8 8 *Skandhogrīvī* Occurs i 175 i in an *Anustubh* hymn

30 Type 8 12 8 12 *Viparītā* This stanza represents *Satobṛhatī* in viii 46 12 see § 246 iii

31 Type 8 12 12 8 *Vistārapanktī* This stanza is equivalent to *Satobṛhatī* and is used in connexion with it it occurs x 140 i, 2, 144 6 see § 246 v

32 The type 9 9 8 8 occurs i 187 ii It is perhaps only an accidental variation of *Anustubh*

33 Type 10 10 10 10 *Vṛātsānā* In ii 11, complete stanzas are rare, but one is quoted in § 50 See § 250 i

34 Type 10 10 10 10 [*Gautamī*] There is no complete stanza, but i 61 13 is nearly complete See § 250 iii

35 Type 11 8 8 8 *Panastādṛhatī* This important uneven lyric metre is regularly used in x 22 (§ 243) and may probably be restored in x 93 3, 13 (§ 242 v) The occurrence in \*x 17 13 is perhaps accidental cf Nos 27, 39, and 46

36 Type 11 8 11 8 *Viśamāpadā* This appears to be an uneven lyric metre, but only occurs in viii 46 20 see § 244 iv

37 The type 11 11 7 7 occurs i 120 4, and is a variation of No 15

38 Type 11 11 7 11 This is an uneven lyric metre, similar to No 13 it is found in i 88 5 (§ 244 i), and in x 132 3, 4, 5 (§ 242 vi)

39 Type 11 11 8 8 This important uneven lyric metre is found in i 88 6 (§ 244 i) and in x 93 i, 4, 14 (§ 242 v) Cf Nos 38 and 46 For the occurrence in \*i 164 42 cf Nos 27, 35 and 46

40 Type 11 11 8 11 This occurs in i 88 i (§ 244 i), and in the text in i 122 5

41 Type 11 11 11 8 This is found in the text in iii 21 4 see § 244 iv

42 Type 11 11 11 11 *Tristubh* See Ch viii throughout

43 Type 12 8 8 8 This variation of No 35, for which it has suggested a title, is only found in x 93 15

44 Type 12 8 12 8 *Satobṛhatī* This stanza is almost exclusively found in strophes (occasionally in triplets) combined either with *Kakubh* or with *Bṛhatī* see § 246

45 Type 12 8 12 12 *Madhyagya*. This variation of Satobhātī is found in vii 10 : 2<sup>o</sup> 12 see § 246 ii iii.

46 Type 12 12 8 8 *Prasthrapañkti*. This stanza is closely connected with No. 39 and is found frequently in x 93 and 13<sup>o</sup> and as the concluding verse of a triplet in vii 96 3. See § 242 v vi, 246 i. There is an occurrence in the popular Rigveda in \*x 18 11 cf. Nos. 27 35 and 39.

47 Type 1<sup>o</sup> 12 12 8 *Uparistadhyoti*. This is a variation of Satobhātī, the regular metre of viii 35 and also found in vii 103 3 and x 140 6, 144 3 and 160 4, 5. In x 140 6 it is described in the Anukramanī as Tristubh. See § 246 v.

48. Type 12 12 12 12 *Jagati*. Common only in the normal and cretic periods, see § 114 Noto 4 even in these the metre is almost unknown to Kufika (Maṇḍala iii). See Chapter viii throughout. For the relation to Tristubh see § 351 vi.

49 The type 12 12 14 12 appears to occur in vii 97 10 cf. the next No.

50 Type 13 13 13 13 *Aṭṭagati*. A complete stanza is found vii 91 13 and the two following stanzas appear to aim at the same result.

51 Type 20 11 11 11 This is found in \*vii 60 4, and invites emendation.

#### D STANZAS OF FIVE VERSES.

52 Type 5 5 5 5 11 *Mahāpaulapañkti*. This stanza occurs in iv 10 3 and is an extension of No. 21.

53 Type 8 8 8 4 8 [*Dimeter Bṛhātī*]. This variation of No. 25 occurs vii 46 7 62 7-9.

54 Type 8 8 8 8 4 *Uparistadbṛhātī*. This variation of No. 25 is the only lyric metre which is found mostly in the later parts of the Rigveda: it occurs \*vii 55 2-4 viii 40 18, 97 11 12 x 1<sup>o</sup> 6 1-7 (5 fr. regular).

55. Type 8 8 8 8 8 : *Pañkti*. This metre was originally an extension of No. 25 and only used in concluding stanzas of Anuṣṭubh hymns but it is found as an independent metre in i 20 80 81 82 1-2, 84 10-12, 105 v 6 75 79 viii 31 15-18, 39 40 21 24 and in the popular Rigveda in \*x 86.

56 Type 8 8 12 8 8 *Mahābṛhātī*. This occurs 105 8 vi 48 7 and is a variation of No. 26. See § 246 iii.

57 Type 11 7 7 11 11 This extension of No. 12 is found in x 105 11 see § 244 iii.

58. Type 11 11 11 11 11 *Śakrari*. This extension of the Tristubh stanza is fairly common in the archaic period and occasional later: it occurs iv 17 4-15, 27 3 v 3 12, 41 16-17 19-20, 42 16-17 43 15-16 vi 2 11 15 15, 31 4, 49 18, 63 10-11 x 115 9. See § 94 iv.

59 Type 12 8 | 8 8 8 viii 35 23 (cf. No. 49) 46 22, and x 93 9 (cf. No. 48).



60 Type 12 8 | 12 8 8 *Mahāsatobīhatī* This stanza is an extension of No 44, and takes its place in the strophe (§ 246 iii) iii vi 48 6, 8, 21

61 Type 12 12 | 8 8 8 This stanza is only found in viii 36 7 = 37 7, and x 132 7 See § 242 vi

62 Type 12 12 8 12 8 A stanza belonging to the Atyastī group, and found in iv 1 2 See § 247 ii

63 Type 12 12 | 12 8 8 This stanza is regularly employed in v 87, and is also found in vi 48 15, viii 46 17 It occupies an intermediate position between Satobīhatī (No 44) and the Atyastī group see § 245 ii

64 Type 12 12 | 12 12 8 This is an extension of the Jagatī stanza, found in vi 15 3

65 Type 12 12 | 12 12 12 [*Pañcapadā Jagatī*] This extension of the Jagatī stanza is found in \*ii 43 2 and vi 15 6

## E STANZAS OF SIX VERSES

66 Type 8 8 | 8 4 8 4 *Āstāpankṭi* This extension of the Anustubh stanza is peculiar to the Vīmada group, being found in x 21, 24 1-3, and 25 see § 248

67 Type 8 8 | 8 4 8 8 This stanza is found, perhaps by some error in the text, in \*i 191 13 Cf No 54

68 Type 8 8 | 8 8 | 8 8 *Mahāpankṭi* This metre first appears as an extension of an Anustubh stanza in v 86 6, it is used in association with Pankṭi in \*x 59 9, 10 As an independent metre or associated with a still longer stanza it appears not to be earlier than the normal period, and occurs in viii 39-41, x 133 4-6, 134 1-6 The grouping of the verses varies, even in the same hymn

69 Type 11 11 | 11 11 11 11 This stanza is not recognized in the Samhitā text, but is a probable interpretation of the pairs of stanzas which appear as vi 10 6-7, 17 14-15

70 Type 12 4 8 | 12 4 8 This occurs in viii 37 2-6, and is a developement of Satobīhatī The verse of four syllables always consists of an unaccented word

71 Type 12 8 8 | 12 8 8 A variation of the last No, found in viii 37 1

72 Type 12 8 | 12 8 | 12 8 This is an extension of Satobīhatī, not recognized in the text, but found in the stanzas viii 32 2-3, viii 19 26-27, ix 107 2-3, 15-16 Cf No 4, and see § 246

73 Type 12 12 | 8 8 8 8 This stanza is found in viii 36 1-6 see § 247 iv

74 Type 12 12 8 | 12 12 8 This stanza belongs to the Atyastī group it is found in i 135 7, 8 See § 247 ii

75 Type 12 12 8 | 12 12, 12 This stanza also belongs to the Atyastī group it is found in iv 1 1

## F STANZAS OF SEVEN VERSES

76 Type 8 8 8 | 8 8 8 8 This extension of the Mahāpāṇkti stanza is found in viii 40 2, x 133 1-3. The grouping of the verses varies.

77 Type 8 8 8 | 8 8 | 13 8. This is the metre of i 137 see § 247 ii. Like all the metres that now remain, it belongs to the Atyasti group.

78. Type 8 1<sup>a</sup> 8 | 12 8 13 8. This combination of a Kakubh and a Satobhrati stanza was perhaps regarded as a single stanza in the strophic period. For the occurrences see § 246 i.

79 Type 12 4 | 12 4 | 13 8 8 *Agā*. Found in ii 92 2, 3. See § 247 iii.

80 Type 12 8 8 | 8 8 | 13 8. Found in i 129 9 see § 247 ii.

81 Type 12 12 8 | 8 8 | 8 8. Found in i 129 8 see § 247 ii.

82 Type 12 12 8 | 8 8 | 13 8 *Atyasti*. This elaborate stanza is found generally in the hymns i 121-130 though with many slight variations, and belongs to the end of the archaic period or to the strophic period. See § 247.

83 Type 12 12 8 | 12 8 | 13 8 *Dhṛti*. Found in iv 1 3.

84. Type 1<sup>a</sup> 12 12 4 | 12 8 4 This appears to be the type aimed at in ii 23 4. See § 247 iii.

85 Type 13 12 8 | 8 8 | 14 8 This stanza is found in i 133 6, and it is doubtful whether the text requires correction cf. No 50.

## G STANZAS OF EIGHT VERSES.

86 Type 8 8 12 8 | 12 8 13 8 This combination of a Brihati and a Satobhrati stanza was very possibly regarded as forming a single stanza for the occurrences see § 246 ii iii.

87 Type 12 4 | 12 4 | 12 4 | 8 8. Found in ii 23 1 see § 247 iii.

88. Type 12 12 8 | 8 8 | 12 8 8 *Atudhṛti*. This stanza of 76 syllables is the longest recognized in the R̥gveda. It is an extension of No. 82, and occurs in i 127 6 see § 247 ii.

## CHAPTER X

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

254. IN the first three chapters of this book a general survey was made of the metre, language, and subject-matter of the hymns of the R̥gveda, with the object of finding a basis for the more exact metrical investigations which were to follow. As a result of this survey the hymns were rearranged, and the division into ten Mandalas was replaced by a division into ten 'groups,' each group being based upon one or more of the collections found in the Samhitā text, but being modified by the detachment and attachment of individual hymns and the ten groups were arranged in a rough chronological order, in accordance with their general correspondence to the respective types of the 'bardic,' 'normal,' 'cretic,' and 'popular' periods.

But in the six chapters which have followed, of which three have been occupied with the establishment of a metrically correct text, and three with the ascertainment of the laws of metre, we have met with a mass of evidence which has a considerable bearing upon the grouping of the hymns, and which does not in every particular support the rearrangement which was adopted as a basis.

Thus a revision of the grouping becomes necessary, and in this concluding chapter the endeavour will be made first to revise the grouping in harmony with all the evidence now before us, then to restate the principal elements of the evidence in agreement with the revised grouping, and lastly to trace in general outline the developement of the metre, language, and subject-matter in such a way as may seem most helpful to those who in the future may be concerned with the investigation of any one of them.

The historical study of the hymns by means of internal evidence is only possible by the process of *successive approximations*, each of which reacts upon the evidence by which it was obtained. The earliest

attempts made in this direction broke down because their authors took as their units complete *Mandalas*, as H. Brunnhofer in *KZ.* xxv 329 ff. (1879), and C. R. Lanman in his *Acorn-Inflection in the Veda*, *JAOS.* x pp. 576-581 (1878). The latter writer has however correctly stated in my opinion the method by which progress is possible, and in the present work and the papers which have preceded it I have done no more than attempt to carry out Lanman's programme as stated on p. 581 of the work referred to.

It is obvious that the process of repeated correction is not only laborious for the investigator but also for the reader who may further be inclined to dismiss as artificial arguments which involve a mass of detail which is constantly changing and presents no clear picture to the mind. These difficulties attend the first investigations of any intricate problem but as soon as a beginning has been made they diminish rapidly in seriousness. Thus as soon as the general difference between the *Rigveda* proper and the popular *Rigveda* is recognised the student will be prepared for the further distinctions made at the opening of this book whilst the further corrections made in this chapter though not unimportant to themselves, scarcely affect in any important particulars the arguments of the preceding chapters.

255 The revised grouping of the hymns which is now proposed is indicated in the Table of hymns which is appended to this chapter. The periods to which the respective hymns are referred are five in number the bardic period of Chapters I-III having been replaced since by the archaic and strophic periods. The difference in character between these two periods is perhaps most marked in the use of hiatus (§ 171) but it is very clear in every part of our subject, that is, in syllabic restoration (§ 153), in quantitative change (§ 180) in dimeter rhythm (§ 195) and in trimeter rhythm (§ 235). This difference therefore though it may pass unnoticed in a first review of the *Rigveda*, becomes on closer examination the plainest of all. The period to which a particular hymn is assigned is shown by a capital letter in the left-hand column the popular *Rigveda* being denoted as before by the asterisk.

Following the practice of the native *Anukramanī*s, the Table states the metre of each hymn and the deity to which it is addressed. Uneven lyric, Trochaic Gayatri Contaminated Tristubh and Epic Anuṣṭubh are recognised as distinct metres, but many trifling variations (such as occasional extra verses in Gayatri or Tristubh hymns) are not noticed. Poems which are not of the nature of hymns have no entry in the column for the deity except that the words *cosmogony* or *charin* appear where the poem has

either of these characters. It thus appears at a glance that poems which are not hymns are found almost exclusively in the popular period.

The metrical statistics are arranged in six columns, of which the first three state the number of 'early metrical notes,' that is, of those variations which are chiefly found in the archaic and strophic periods, and the last three the number of 'late' notes, that is, of those variations which are chiefly found in the cretic and popular periods. The nature of these variations is more fully explained in §§ 258-260. In the case of each hymn or small group of hymns the statistics as a whole combine to form what we may call a *metrical picture*, that is, a numerical formula by which the general tenour of the metrical evidence is indicated. Thus since all variations are comparatively rare in the normal period, and such as occur are evenly distributed between those that mark the earlier and the later periods, hymns of this period may generally be recognised by the small total number of variations (on the average about one in every four trimeter verses) and by an approach towards equality in the number of early and late variations. The normal period thus becomes the central point in our investigations, and a hymn or group of hymns will be judged to be either earlier or later according to the extent to which the metrical picture deviates from the standard thus laid down: the archaic hymns being most plainly marked by having a very large number of variations, that is, about one in every two trimeter verses, half of these being in the first column alone. Hymns in dimeter verse, however, cannot be so readily distinguished by their metrical pictures, as the number of variations is much smaller.

Lastly, in the two right-hand columns is given the number of occurrences of early and late 'linguistic variations,' including both grammatical forms and words, according to the lists given in Appendix I. This linguistic evidence, being mainly directed to the difference between the R̥gveda proper and the popular R̥gveda, has only an indirect bearing upon the different periods of the former. But when applied to large groups of hymns, this indirect evidence is of great value, because it is entirely independent of the metrical evidence.

The general harmony between the metrical and linguistic evidence appears clearly from the Table in § 257.

The metrical variations referred to in §§ 257-300 and in the Table of hymns include all those which have been shown in the preceding chapters to possess historical importance and the corrected statistics show that they are naturally divided into six groups, as follows

- A. Variations distinctive of the archaic period.
- B. Variations distinctive of the archaic and strophic periods.
- C. Variations distinctive of the same periods, but also in use, though to a smaller extent, in the normal period
- D. The cretic break quite common in all periods, but much more frequently employed after the end of the strophic period than before.
- E. Variations distinctive of the cretic and popular periods.
- F. Variations distinctive of the popular period only

Of these the first three are early variations, and the last three are late variations. In dimeter verse only the first two and the last two classes are represented and the whole amount of evidence is much smaller than in trimeter verse.

A detailed list of the variations is given in § 300.

256. The Table in the following section shows the manner in which the metrical and linguistic evidence may be combined with regard to the larger groups of hymns which appear there. The figures in thick type apply to the whole mass of hymns assigned to each of the five periods and give the average number of variations under each heading in every 100 trimeter or 150 dimeter verses whilst the figures in ordinary type give the same information with regard to the separate groups. The pictures as given for trimeter verse being the more significant, there can be now little reason to doubt that the groups 1127-135 and 1165-190 belong in the main to the archaic period whilst 1174-92 cannot well be earlier than the strophic period. The greater part of the fourth Mandala is also seen to be probably of the strophic period. The trimeter hymns of Mandala vii shew a high proportion of variations under C due to the frequency of secondary caesura and the group 1116-110 shews a high proportion both under C and under D the first due to the frequency of some forms of secondary caesura, the latter to the frequency of the cretic break. We must further notice that the average metrical pictures of the last three periods differ but slightly and that therefore the metre becomes here an uncertain guide. Lastly in all the trimeter groups the linguistic

evidence very closely approaches the standard of the period to which each group is assigned

With regard to dimeter verse, it is easy to see that our work is less successful. Epic Anuṣṭubh is happily for our purpose sufficiently distinguished by its external form, and therefore only a very small amount of dimeter verse appears in the Table as belonging to the cretic and popular periods, and for this the metrical evidence is of little value. In the earlier periods the grouping is most successful with regard to the lyric metres, in which it is guided by the trimeter variations. Here for instance we see that the dimeter verses of the group 1 127-135, just as its trimeter verses, contain almost twice as many early variations as those of the Kanva lyric hymns. From this assured starting-point we go on to notice that the dimeter hymns of the early part of *Mandala v*, and those of the group 2 20-26, are undoubtedly of the archaic period, whilst the dimeter hymns of the Kanva groups correspond precisely to the dimeter verses of the lyric hymns of the same groups. It seems also probable that the section 1 24-30 belongs to the strophic period. In the other groups the results seem fairly consistent, with the striking exception of the Soma Pavamāna groups ix 1-60, 61-67<sup>30</sup>. In these large groups the metre has the regularity of the normal period, whilst the language has the variety of the archaic period. This contradiction is with our present knowledge insuperable, but the metrical evidence seems to be far the more important of the two.

Except as regards the groups here discussed, the revision of the grouping only affects single hymns or very small groups. In the list of hymns previously assigned to the popular R̥gveda no alteration has been made, as very little new evidence has been gathered. In the R̥gveda proper, attention has been mainly directed to two points, the grouping found in the Saṃhitā text, and the 'metrical picture'. Where these both point in the same direction, any divergent indications that may have been noticed in Ch. III are now usually disregarded, and the grouping is simplified accordingly. Where this agreement is wanting, the metrical picture has generally been followed if it is well marked; but if this is not the case, or if the group or hymn is very short, the arrangement previously adopted has been left unaltered, an italic letter in the left-hand column being used to indicate that the metrical picture by itself would point to a different conclusion.

The following notes deal with points of detail with regard to the use and value of the evidence of date furnished in the Table of hymns

(i) The amount of matter contained in the small groups of the Table of hymns varies considerably. Where (as in the third and ninth Mandalas) there are considerable series of hymns which are identical in their metrical character space has been economized by treating each such series as a single group. On the other hand if a single hymn consists of parts that are not homogeneous, it is essential to record a separate metrical picture for each part, however small it may be.

(ii) In tracing the history of single variations we have often needed to collect the occurrences from 1000 verses at one time, and sometimes from as many as 5000. But when the most important variations are combined, the history can be traced with equal certainty from comparatively small bodies of verse. Supposing that 10 variations have exactly the same history we can trace this with the same accuracy either by observing a single variation in 1000 verses, or all together in 100 verses. In fact the archaic variations are so numerous that we have little difficulty in recognising a hymn of archaic type by its metre even if it only includes from 25 to 50 verses. but in the other periods the evidence is less direct, and cannot be very clearly followed unless we can first group on some other ground hymns containing together from 100 to 200 verses. The extreme shortness and fewness of the dimeter hymns in the family books greatly hamper the application of the metrical evidence, and we can therefore do little more than assume that in each Mandala the dimeter hymns are probably of the same date as those in trimeter verse.

(iii) The variations of which the occurrences are counted up in the six columns are those which are shown in the Table in § 200, and include all those which have been shown in the previous chapters to possess historical importance. The evidential value of the separate variations included in one column is approximately the same, as appears from the corrected statistics as given in that Table. But the different columns are by no means of equal value as evidence. column A which represents the archaic variations has by far the most distinctive character and column D which gives the occurrences of the cretic break is the least important.

(iv) It must be noticed that the numbers given in the 'Table of hymns are absolute, and not proportionate whilst those in the Table in the next section are proportionate to each 100 verses, three dimeter verses being counted as two. The pictures in the Table of hymns must therefore be reduced to the same proportions before they are compared with the standard pictures for each period.



## 257 COMBINED METRICAL AND LINGUISTIC PICTURES

No	Group	Tr vv	Dim. vv	Notes in trimeter verses						Notes in dimeter vv				Lingu.	
				A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	E	F	V	AV
	Archaic	4499	4368	21	6	13	7	2	1	12	16	2	0	68	4
1	i 58-64	201		24	3	4	5	1	0					81	4
2	127-135	211	275	22	6	13	8	3	0	14	14	1	1	72	3
3	165-190	671	85	18	4	11	7	2	2					62	6
4	v (Atri)	361	963	20	8	11	7	1	0	13	20	1	1	67	4
5	vi	1600	510	17	5	11	8	1	1	8	11	2	0	66	4
6	viii 12-31	316	867	23	11	18	8	3	1	8	12	2	0	63	4
7	60 etc (lyric)	185	454	17	8	10	4	3	1	13	16	1	0	64	5
8	„ (dimeter)	2	500							10	13	2	0	52	4
9	ix 98-111	64	311							8	9	2	1	80	4
10	x 20-26	45	167							13	18	1	0	106	3
	Strophic	4458	3928	7	6	14	7	1	1	5	10	2	1	55	4
11	i 24, etc		162							6	17	1	0	56	5
12	Kanva (lyric) <sup>1</sup>	311	577	8	10	8	11	2	0	5	10	2	1	57	4
13	„ (dimeter) <sup>1</sup>	31	753							3	13	3	2	57	4
14	i 74-92	288	372	9	4	11	9	2	1	4	6	1	1	49	7
15	141-158	326	10	9	6	13	6	3	1					58	4
16	iv	1115	350	9	3	9	7	1	1	4	13	1	0	62	3
17	vii (lyric)	107	166	11	4	13	7	3	0	8	16	3	1	63	3
18	„ (trimeter)	1669	109	7	8	19	7	1	1	6	18	0	0	53	4
19	viii 62-97	140	539	3	3	9	6	1	1	6	8	1	0	52	5
	Normal	5815	3257	2	2	8	11	2	1	2	5	3	1	51	5
20	i 1-11		287							3	9	1	1	62	7
21	12-23		357							0	6	3	0	32	3
22	116-119	284		2	2	20	16	5	3					45	10
23	ii	1011	116	4	2	7	11	2	1					42	7
24	iii	1456	415	2	2	9	13	2	0	5	6	2	1	44	5
25	iv	512	74	3	3	6	13	1	0					38	4
26	v	894	85	2	1	7	9	1	1					39	5
27	ix 1-60	1	1169							2	3	3	1	79	3
28	61-67	3	599							2	2	4	0	82	2
29	68-97	972		3	2	5	8	1	1					57	5
	Cretic	4942	618	2	1	4	14	4	1	3	5	2	1	36	8
30	i 31-35	284		2	1	3	10	2	2					27	14
31	94-115	682		2	3	5	17	4	1					35	9
32	vi	415	155	3	1	3	14	1	3	2	5	1	0	42	8
33	vii	515	75	3	1	5	16	2	1					39	6
34	x 29-80	1125	43	3	1	5	15	5	0					32	8
	Popular	3463	343	3	1	4	12	3	7	6	8	4	2	10	38

This table only deals with hymns composed in trimeter and in normal dimeter verse the bulk of the dimeter verse of the cretic and popular periods is therefore not included. The hymns in each group are those which in the 'Table of hymns' are assigned to the period named.

All the figures (except those shewing the number of verses) are proportional to 100 trimeter or 150 dimeter verses.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. hymns in the groups i 36-43, 44-50, viii 1-11, 32-34, 49-57

258. The developement of metre may be traced with regard either to the external or the internal form (§§ 30-31). External metrical form is one of the most important criteria of the popular Rigveda but with regard to it there is little to be amended in the statements of the earlier chapters. We notice however that contamination is also a mark of the archaic period (§ 223). In the Rigveda proper decasyllabic Triṣṭubh is found to be a mark of the archaic or of the strophic period according to the rhythm (§ 225) whilst Pentad hymns are found as late as the normal period. Lyric metres generally characterise the archaic period but the regular Bṛhatī-Satobṛhatī strophe is later. The date of the Trochaic Gāyatrī metre is not satisfactorily determined.

The developement of the internal form that is, of the less striking variations can only be followed systematically so far as we find general types consistently followed. For this purpose therefore, we put aside all hymns of special types such as the decasyllabic hymns, and those in Trochaic Gāyatrī and in Epic Anuṣṭubh, and also the Anuṣṭubh hymns of the Kāṇvas and of the crotic period which approach the type of Epic Anuṣṭubh (§ 200). The history of trimeter verse and (less clearly) of normal dimeter verse can then be followed by the aid of the Table in § 260.

The early variations included in the Table are 26 in number of which one has to do with the external form and 7 are connected with the restoration of the text and are discussed in the next section. Of the remaining 18 variations there are 7 which are almost restricted to the archaic period 7 which are common to the archaic and strophic periods, and only 4 which retain some importance in the normal period. Of the later variations almost all have to do either with the text or with the external form so that we may say that at the end of the normal period the internal form is fixed, both for trimeter and dimeter verse the only exception being the increased use of the crotic break.

259. The linguistic developement of the Rigveda runs parallel with that of the metre. This is to be seen first of all in the use of Sandhi and the linguistic forms which are reached by metrical restoration. The general explanation of these changes is the increasing rapidity of pronunciation which results in the extended use of Sandhi combination the consonantization of semi vowels, and the shortening of vowels originally long although there are

a few instances of change in the opposite direction, which are explained by the influence of analogy. The Table in § 260 shews that those variations which are becoming rare in the archaic period die out rapidly, and generally reach their minimum in the normal period, but the linguistic developement can be traced in the later periods by the rise of new variations which are due to the same general causes as the decay of the others.

The same progress can be traced in the use of the linguistic features which characterise the Rigveda proper as contrasted with the late Rigveda and Atharvaveda. As appears from the Table in § 257, the older forms and words are much more common in the archaic period than elsewhere, and are more common in the strophic and normal periods than in the cretic hymns: that is, of the whole number of these words and forms there are some that go out of use at the end of each period in succession. As to the later forms, none of them are in regular use in any part of the Rigveda proper, but they are used in the cretic period twice as often as in those periods which precede it.

Very much fuller evidence would be available if we were to take as a starting point the linguistic features of the normal period, and contrast them with those that mark the two earlier periods. This line of evidence has been pursued, so far as grammatical forms are concerned, in the author's *Historical Vedic Grammar*. It is sufficient here to note that the linguistic features of the archaic period differ from those of the normal period somewhat in the same way, though not to the same extent, as the dialect of the Homeric poems differs from that of Herodotus.

### Notes to the Table on the page opposite

All the figures in the body of the table are proportional to each 1000 trimeter verses, or to each 1500 dimeter verses: and the assignment of the occurrences to the respective groups is in accordance with the arrangement adopted in the 'Table of hymns.'

<sup>1</sup> including hiatus after  $\bar{a}$  when shortened (§ 172 1), and after duals in  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ , etc. when shortened (§ 174 1)    <sup>2</sup> also §§ 143 II, III, 151 1    <sup>3</sup> except *aam* in dimeter cadence    <sup>4</sup> as in *-saham*, *manam*, *-vanam*, *anam* when restored on metrical grounds    <sup>5</sup> also § 220 III-VI    <sup>6</sup> Catalectic and heptasyllabic dimeter verses    <sup>7</sup> except when accompanied by secondary caesura    <sup>8</sup> Virātsūhānū and *indra* verses, and verses with double rest    <sup>9</sup> also §§ 166 IV, 170 1    <sup>10</sup> 1 e when accompanied by caesura after the third syllable, or by the break || ~ ~ for the other forms see below    <sup>11</sup> also §§ 128, 129    <sup>12</sup> with consonantal value of  $\gamma$  in each case    <sup>13</sup> This variation is not taken into account except in the treatment of dimeter verse    <sup>14</sup> Combination by Sandhi of final  $i$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $-u$ ,  $\bar{u}$  with dissimilar vowels    <sup>15</sup> with the final vowel in each case shortened

## 260 TABLE OF VARIATIONS OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE.

Refer to §	Variation	In tetrameter verses					In normal trimeter vv				
		Ar. St. N. Or. Pop.					Ar. St. N. Or. P.				
	Period Whole no. of verses	4469	4425	5615	4943	3423	4363	3626	2307	813	343
<b>A. ANACHAIC</b>											
121 ac <sup>1</sup>	Hiatus after -ā <sup>1</sup>	22	9	2	2	5	56	12	7	-	8
142 <sup>2</sup>	Resolutions -aa, -aam <sup>2</sup>	40	15	5	5	5	48	15	7	12	15
170 abc	Shortened stems of nouns	-	-	-	-	-	9	1	1	-	-
190 v <sup>3</sup>	Irregular cadence	15	5	2	2	8	21	14	5	15	26
191 i, ii	Short dimeter <i>uuea</i>	-	-	-	-	-	20	5	4	2	8
214 i ii	Weak caesura <sup>4</sup>	17	8	4	2	9	-	-	-	-	-
218 i	Break   - - - <sup>5</sup>	18	8	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
218 vii	Irregular breaks (late caes.)	11	4	5	5	9	-	-	-	-	-
220 ii	Short tenth syllable	24	10	4	5	8	-	-	-	-	-
226	Reata, with iambic rhythm <sup>6</sup>	25	9	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
228	Neutral reata	19	5	2	2	7	-	-	-	-	-
Total		209	78	24	23	29	116	47	24	29	57
<b>B. ACHAIC AND STROPHIC</b>											
123 ac	Hiatus after -ā	5	5	1	1	1	9	4	1	0	4
145 iii	-aam in dimeter cadence	-	-	-	-	-	51	45	14	19	4
163 s 4	hi, a -aika -aia	4	5	1	1	1	8	7	2	2	-
190 i	Long fifth syllable	-	-	-	-	-	18	10	6	9	20
190 ii	Short sixth syllable	-	-	-	-	-	73	40	23	17	42
212 ii, iii	Secondary caesura <sup>7</sup>	15	24	8	5	8	-	-	-	-	-
218 iii	Break - i - - <sup>8</sup>	14	10	2	5	2	-	-	-	-	-
218 v	Break   - - -	6	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
220 i c	Short eighth not final	14	9	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	-
227 i	Pentad verses	5	2	1	0	2	-	-	-	-	-
Total		64	69	16	12	14	101	101	46	47	80
<b>C. OTHER EARLY V. TYPES</b>											
121 b 123 b	Hiatus -a, -ā at caesura	20	10	5	8	5	-	-	-	-	-
212 i	Sec. caes. Vsephr v	45	62	27	18	17	-	-	-	-	-
212 iv	" with break - i -	12	14	8	4	8	-	-	-	-	-
218 ii	Break - i - - <sup>9</sup>	20	27	12	7	7	-	-	-	-	-
220 i b	Short eighth (final syll.)	21	26	18	5	10	-	-	-	-	-
Total		129	129	75	28	42	-	-	-	-	-
<b>D. ORIC BREAK (i - - -)</b>											
Total		74	72	109	128	121	-	-	-	-	-
<b>E. LATER VARIATIONS</b>											
122 <sup>10</sup>	Comb. of ad duals, for	5	5	9	19	5	2	4	2	5	9
122 s, 127 s	" <i>diapd, sakkpd, sarpd</i> <sup>11</sup>	5	2	5	8	8	7	7	10	2	-
144	Resolution -bhiā, -bhiā <sup>12</sup>	[4	1	4	3	5]	8	5	10	14	18
159 i, ii	-a, -ā, -ia shortened	1	2	1	2	5	5	8	4	2	9
223 i	Catalectic Jagati	5	5	2	10	0	-	-	-	-	-
Total		15	12	17	29	25	18	19	27	23	20
<b>F. POPULAR PERIOD</b>											
125	Comb. of i - a, etc. <sup>13</sup>	2	2	5	5	15	2	4	4	7	10
135	g & ornamental	-	1	1	0	4	-	-	-	-	4
160 4, 161 s	a, pidi <sup>14</sup>	1	2	1	8	8	-	2	-	-	1
171 v 172 i	-ā a, -o before hiatus	1	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	-	-
223 ii	Extended Tristubh	2	1	1	8	26	-	-	-	-	-
229	Hybrid verses	2	-	-	1	8	-	-	-	-	-
Total		8	8	9	18	73	4	5	7	21	-

261 As the parallel developement of language and metrie affords adequate proof of the general chronological sequence of the Vedic hymns, it is unnecessary to trace the developement of ideas with any purpose of obtaining from this study a corroboration of our theory as a whole. It is perhaps peculiarly difficult to trace such a developement in a ritual literature, in which antiquated conceptions may easily linger for long periods by the mere force of daily repetition, long after they have ceased to express any genuine feeling or belief. In giving here a general sketch of the developement of the conceptions which form the subject-matter of the hymns, we can only attempt to point out that here and there such developement plainly runs parallel with that of metrie and language, and that there is reason to suppose that closer investigation may lead to more definite results.

262 The ritual practices which are fundamental to the Rigveda appear to be essentially older than any beliefs in gods, heroes, or spirits which may be adduced from time to time in explanation of them. The kindling of the sacred fire before dawn may have been originally an act of sympathetic magic calculated to ensure the return of daylight, and therefore as practical in its aim as the kindling of fire to be a source of light or warmth in the house, or a means of warning off thieves and beasts of prey. The preparation of the sacred drink, originally mead and in a later form Soma, was an even more direct means of strengthening the clan by raising the spirits of its warriors, and making welcome the visitor who might some day fight on his hosts' side. Throughout the Rigveda the 'priests' are primarily expert craftsmen, skilled in the kindling of the fire or the preparation of the nectar in accordance with ancient rules. A third attainment, the poetic inspiration which finds expression in chant and recitation, necessary accompaniments of either of the primeval ceremonies, is perhaps of later date, but reaches almost equal importance.

But even in the earliest parts of the Rigveda we find each of the two great ceremonies interpreted in a different way, and so that the one becomes to a great extent out of harmony with the other. The sacred fire is now kindled to act as 'messenger' between two peoples, the one on the earth and the other in heaven. The 'people in heaven' is variously described as consisting of the 'gods,' or by name of 'Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman,' to which list we

may mentally add and so forth since the names given are plainly no complete catalogue of the god meant. We have therefore in the archaic period a clear conception of a company of deities living in the sky and an interpretation of the sacrifice as a festival to which these gods are invited by the fire-messenger to descend. This circle of deities we may provisionally name the Chaldean god since so far as our knowledge goes the study and admiration of the heavens is in the first instance associated with the shepherd peoples of the Chaldean plain.

On the other hand the drink ceremony is associated with a god or hero Indra well described by H. Oldenberg as a barbarian god. A great feeder swifter and fighter he stands out as the type of the Aryan adventurer prince ruling to the invasion of the lands of the seven rivers storming forts releasing captives taking possession of lands and herds. This conception seems so natural a product of the times that we are hardly surprised to find that there is practically no trace of the worship of Indra amongst other Indo-European peoples and it is so predominant in the earliest Vedic hymns, that we must ascribe to the enthusiasm of conquest embodied in the praise of this warrior god the chief impulse towards the creation of the literature. From the Chaldean gods Indra is cut off by the fact that he dwells on earth not in the sky and again not less sharply by the lower moral tone which he represents. At this period then the two worships seem to be separated by a gulf both of theory and of sentiment.

Two other groups of deities are prominent in the earlier parts of the Rigveda, the *Āsvinā* and the *Marutah*. Both appear capable of naturalistic interpretations the *Āsvinā* as representing some phenomenon of the sky by which they come to be associated with the Chaldean deities the *Marutah* as representing the storm clouds which as they sweep furiously over the earth may be compared to or associated with the devastating onset of Indra. In a subordinate position we may notice especially *Uśas* the Dawn and *Pūṣan* the rustic deity of the foid path ways. In these religious conceptions there is a striking lack of coordination and we can only think of them as fragments of some earlier system or systems of deities to which we are hardly likely to find the clue unless it be in the history of other Indo-European peoples. The chief deity of the Indo-Europeans *Zeus* or *Jove* is honoured in the Rigveda by no hymn but his name *Dyaus* is still held in

respect, and at times he seems to exercise a shadowy sovereignty. Failing fuller knowledge, we may reasonably speak of all the deities mentioned in this section as Indo-European, and we may largely interpret this Indo-European system as a deification of natural phenomena. Amongst these phenomena, however, the daily course of the sun occupies a position of very subordinate importance.

Our general conception therefore of the subject-matter of the earliest Vedic hymns is that it is composed of heterogeneous elements amongst which the following stand out prominently, arranged in an order of time based upon their relative clearness in the minds of the hymn-writers: (i) the primitive ceremonies of fire- and drink-making, (ii) the Indo-European nature-worships, (iii) the Chaldaean deities of the heaven, (iv) the warrior-god of the invasion of India.

We may consider here in more detail those deities who are most prominent in the archaic period.

(i) To the primary conception of *Indra* as the warrior-god several others are attached, which may have been originally independent of him and much earlier in date. Such are the conceptions of (a) the Vitragna, the slayer of the dragon who guards in his rock-cavern the seven sacred streams, (b) the dawn-maker, who with a blow parts heaven and earth, and makes the light appear, (c) the storm-god, who rides at the head of his host, the Marutah, and who strikes down his foes with his mace, the thunder-bolt, (d) the conqueror of some miserly foe, such as the Panayahi or Vala, whose cows he seizes. These conceptions cross one another and the primary conception of the warrior-god in all imaginable directions, and can therefore only with difficulty be disentangled.

In the later periods of the *Rigveda* Indra is brought into closer relation with the other gods, and the savage traits of his character are toned down. He assumes the position of the creator and supporter of the universe, the begetter of heaven and earth, the protector of the ceremonies. He is chosen by the gods as their champion in time of danger, and then admitted to their company. In the latest poems his name stands always prominent in the catalogue of the gods, as indeed it does throughout the *Rigveda* in the hymns addressed to the *Viśve Devāh*.

(ii) In the archaic hymns *Vāyu* appears to be the charioteer of Indra. There is no hint in the hymns themselves that this god represents the Wind: this later interpretation of his character may be either a reminiscence or a guess. In no case is *Vāyu* to be identified with *Vāta*, for they appear side by side in many hymns to the *Viśve Devāh*. In the later parts of the *Rigveda* the place of *Vāyu* is taken by *Bṛhaspati*.

(iii) The group *Mitra Varuna Aryaman* is very commonly met with in the archaic period but not so frequently in hymns addressed to this triple deity as in Agni hymns. In the periods next following either Aryaman disappears from the group, or other names are added. In later times (e.g. RV ix 114 3c) these gods form part of a group of seven, known as the seven Ādityāḥ the sons of their mother Aditi. This number seven we may perhaps trace back to the archaic period by the help of viii 28 a and if so, a door is open for H. Oldenberg's interpretation of this group as ultimately based upon an older worship of sun moon and five planets (*Das Religion des Veda*, p. 193).

It is however quite impossible to connect the Vedic deities directly with the separate heavenly bodies. The association of Mitra with the sun is frequently based upon the parallel with the Iranian Mithra. But it finds little support in the Rigveda, unless it be in the early Agni hymns, in which Agni is often said to be like Mitra.

The names of the seven Ādityāḥ, if indeed that was their original number are variously given besides the three principal figures we find with some regularity Savitar and Bhaga, and the list may be completed by adding the feminine names of Pṛamadā and Aramati or those of the male deities Dakṣa and Aśva.

(iv) The *Aśvinā* are twin deities who are usually interpreted as denoting some phenomenon of the sky. In the Rigveda they appear as twin-charioteers, who travel to the ceremony and bring with them mead by their beauty and their courage they win the favour of the Sun's daughter she mounts their car and becomes their bride. In the later parts of the Rigveda the *Aśvinā* are rescuers and physicians, and play a part in numerous myths.

(v) It seems clear that the *Marutāḥ* are personifications of the storm-clouds, and the Vedic statement that they are sons of Dyaus (iii 20 17) may be interpreted by us as meaning that they are Indo-European deities. In the earlier parts of the Rigveda they are also entitled Rudras, but later a deity *Rudra* is evolved who becomes their father. The *Marutāḥ* are frequently brought into relation with Indra. In the *Māna* hymns (i 165-190) Indra robs them of their share in the sacrifice, on the ground that he has conquered the Vṛtra, not they. In truth Indra appears to have stolen his title of Vṛtraghna from some earlier god or gods. Later the *Marutāḥ* become the fighting-men of Indra's host, and it would seem that through them Indra first became associated with the region of the clouds.

263 The first Vedic pantheon appears to have been formed under the pressure of war. The various cults noted in the last section may have been maintained with various degrees of zeal by different Aryan clans but any such difference became small in the face of the dark-skinned natives, who did not practise even the fundamental ceremonies who kindled no fire, and pressed no Soma. In the pantheon thus formed the war-god naturally took



the first place But when this pressure was removed new forces political, philosophical and aesthetic began to assert themselves, and to influence the forms of religious worship Great kingdoms were established in the New Land, and their sovereigns and chancellors prided themselves in establishing an order of peace and justice, repeating on earth the everlasting harmony of the kingdom of heaven, and embracing the light-skinned and the dark-skinned as members of one family Under such influences the half-forgotten lore of Chaldaea was in part revived, and under the names sometimes of the pair Mitra and Varuna, sometimes of a single deity as Varuna, Savitar or Bhaga, a sovereign power is established in the pantheon itself, possessing a moral grandeur not altogether unworthy to be compared with that of Ahura Mazdā or Yahveh In the exuberant life of a tropical country the beginnings of philosophy arose in questionings as to the source and the unity of the manifold vital powers of the universe, the setting-out of its parts in the order of space, and the existence of a 'beyond' known to the initiated only Thus the fire-god took again a new character as the source of life in man and beast, in cloud and rock, in mountain and wood Some old-world myth of a giant who takes three steps was turned to a picture of earth, heaven, and the third mysterious region and from these in turn the fancy builds up three earths, three heavens, and even a three-fold order of the universe

But as the speculative spirit grew, religion became more and more divorced from practical affairs, and in the variety of opinions the uniformity, and, as it seemed, the beauty of the ceremonial attracted the more attention The ceremonies indeed, as we have seen reason to think, were originally celebrated for severely practical purposes but when the fear of days without dawns and sons without spirit died out, they were continued for their inherent charm and as exercises of priestly skill perhaps too because the priests, like highly educated people in all ages, were unwilling *quod iuvenes didicere, senes perdenda fateri* The worship of the fire-god and of the Soma was already in existence in the archaic period, but the deities were conceived in human shape, and even associated with Indra in his warlike feats In the later parts of the R̥gveda proper they are increasingly prominent in their ceremonial meaning only Every stage in the ritual is described with insistent minuteness in hymn upon hymn New deities are

introduced which are without meaning except for their part in the ritual as *Ghṛta*, *Gauḥ*, *Havis*, *Vas* and above all the deities of the successive verses of the *Āpriya* hymns.

Again it is in connection with the ritual of the fire-worship that we may find an explanation of the new importance attached in the normal and creative periods to such deities as *Uṣas* and *Dyāvā* *Prthivī* which seem to be Indo-European in their origin. The dawn is the hour of the ritual, and the twin deities of darkness and light nurse the infant flame. The fire is set up as a pillar to join heaven and earth and at the same time to hold them apart. These deities are therefore no longer nature deities in the strict sense, but are part of the equipment of the ritual.

(i) The worship of *Mitra* and *Varuna* reaches its highest development in the *Vasiṣṭha* hymns to these deities, which attain an elevation of moral conception which has often recalled to their readers the Hebrew psalms. Of the worship of *Varuna* alone as a supreme deity there is hardly any trace in the *Rigveda*, but there are hymns addressed to him in which he is appealed to to release his worshipper from the burden of his sins, and apparently from the penalty of dropsy. Several hymns are addressed to *Savitar* singly two to *Mitra*, and one to *Bhaga*. *Aditi*, the mother of the *Ādityāḥ*, is probably as Professor A. Macdonell suggests an abstraction from the qualities of the group. In the *Vasiṣṭha* hymns the daily course of the sun is the chief wonder-deed of *Mitra* and *Varuna* and from this time on the worship of *Sūrya* has a growing importance.

(ii) In the earliest hymns *Agni* is worshipped as the messenger of the gods, and also as a warrior-deity in the latter capacity he is frequently joined with *Indra*. Even in these hymns he bears the title *Jātavedas*, indicating that all living things are his household, or in other words that he is the source of all life, the soul of the universe. *Agni* is therefore at once one and manifold by the side of *Agni* stand the *Agnayaḥ*. Thus in the later parts of the *Rigveda* proper *Agni* *Jātavedas* and *Agni* *Vasistānara* are deities distinct from *Agni* himself, and we can trace the beginnings of an *Agni* *Dravīṇodas* an *Agni* *Rakṣaṇam*, and so forth. But this development is most marked in connection with the ritual, with the result that *Agni* is discerned not merely in the sacrificial fire (*Agni* *Samiddha*), but in the persons of the worshippers (*Agni* *Tamī* *napiti*) in those of the singers (*Agni* *Narā* *śakṣaḥ*), in the straw-carpet, in the doorways, in the sacrificial post, and in the solemn concluding cry of *sudhā*, according to the set type of the *Āpriya* hymns.

(iii) That *Vipra* represents the marking out of the bounds of space is the view of H. Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*, p. 228).

(iv) Perhaps to all previous writers on Vedic chronology certainly to the present author in his earlier papers, the hymns to *Soma*

*Paramānu* have appeared to be amongst the oldest in the R̥gveda. For this view there is the obvious argument that both in language and sentiment these hymns are entirely cut off from the later parts of the R̥gveda and all later literature. The metre, however, goes to shew that only a few of these hymns can belong to the two earliest periods of the R̥gveda and it therefore seems likely that the number of these hymns has been artificially increased so that they may equal those addressed to Agni and Indra. The hymns are purely of a ritual character only in the popular R̥gveda (iv 113) do we find the doctrine of immortality associated with the worship of Soma, as in Greece with that of Dionysus.

(v) The deity of the sacred song is properly *Bṛhaspati* or *Brahmanaspati*, and in hymns of the two earlier periods this character is strictly preserved. In later hymns the god becomes associated with Indra, and takes the place left vacant by the disappearance of Vāyu, as Indra's charioteer. As god of song he appears to be replaced in turn by *Vāc*.

(vi) The close association of the pairs *Night and Day*, *Earth and Heaven* with the ritual can readily be traced in the Āp̥riya hymns. In separate hymns *Uṣas* alone takes the place which is filled by the pair *Uṣāsā-naktā* in the hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ. The hymns to *Uṣas* in their feeling for brightness and beauty recall to us the Greek *Eos* and the Latin *Aurora*, and perhaps are our best representations of the Indo-European type of hymn. So *Dyāvā-Pṛthivī* appear occasionally in Indo-European fashion as parents of the gods, but more usually they are merely guardians of the sacred rite, and obedient subjects of the law of *Mitra* and *Varuna*.

(vii) Amongst the deities which are prominent in the later parts of the R̥gveda are the *Rbharāḥ* they are craftsmen who by their skill have attained the rank of gods.

**264** It hardly falls within the scope of this book to discuss in any detail the subject-matter of the popular R̥gveda, which opens a world of thought entirely different to that of the R̥gveda proper, and records for us the first distinctively Indian efforts to lay the foundations of philosophy, cosmology, and magic. But a few concluding words may be devoted to those myths of which a considerable number are to be found in the popular R̥gveda, and which appear to constitute its earliest part since in the mythical hymns the linguistic forms of the R̥gveda proper and the popular R̥gveda are used side by side. The R̥gveda proper is not altogether deficient in myths, but they are baldly related and generally in single stanzas, as for instance the warlike deeds of Indra and the clever rescues of the *Aśvinā*. But in the popular R̥gveda myths appear in a dramatic form, and the theme is not

historical but social here too the poets for the first time wrestle with the moral and aesthetic problems associated with the relation ship of man to woman. In these myths the woman generally appears as the temptress, not perhaps so much from a sensual impulse as from the desire of children whilst the duty of the man is always abstinence without any regard even to the claims of marriage. We find in fact the germ of the ascetic theories which afterwards became so firmly rooted both in Brahmanism and in Buddhism and which have spread thence over the Western world. Such theories stand in striking contrast to the patriarchal sentiments of the Rigveda proper and of all other national religions, and the question of their origin seems to call for investigation. One suggestion may be made here by the way. It seems probable enough that Aryan princes may often have been led by native wives away from the practices of the Brahmanic religion, and in particular from liberality to the Brahmans themselves and thus that an opposition of interests between priests and queens may have become traditional.

(i) The best known of the dramatic myths of the Rigveda is the dialogue of *Purūravas* and *Urvasī* (RV. x. 95) on the interpretation of which much light has been thrown by Professor Karl Geldner (*Indische Studien* I, pp. 243-295). The poem is of special interest to the folklorist, being based upon the marriage of a prince to a fairy maiden and his subsequent desertion by her. Special attention may be called to the cynical reply of *Urvasī* in stanza 15 when *Purūravas* threatens to die for love of her. *There is no truth in the friendship of women they have the hearts of hyacinths*. However dramatically the sneer may suit the occasion in the mouth of *Urvasī*, it reveals a bitter grudge in some poet's mind against feminine influence.

(ii) The tale of *Agastya* and his neglected wife *Lopāmudrā* (1.1.9) has been lately treated by Dr Emil Sieg (*Die Sagenstoffe des Iṅgveda* pp. 120-190). *Agastya* as a sage is bound by a vow of chastity. *Lopāmudrā's* youth is passing yet she remains childless. To her passionate appeals *Agastya* gives way. So far the poet has only blame for the woman. But in the concluding stanzas excuses are found for the pair. The divine *Soma* may well forgive the sin, for desire is human besides *Agastya* has won offspring to the advantage of both the light and the dark races (*Lopāmudrā*, we may conclude is a native woman) and the high purposes of the gods are after all fulfilled.

(iii) In the light thrown by these two hymns we may consider the tale of *Iama* and *Iamī* the parents of the human race (x.10). At the first glance it becomes probable that we have a variant of the tale of Adam and Eve though it may not be easy to guess from what common source or by what channels the tale has reached us in such

different forms. The Vedic myth has the advantage of logical consistency, for the temptation deals not with the apparently meaningless prohibition of eating from a particular tree, but with the real moral problem necessarily implied in the relationship of the first human pair, if they are conceived (and it cannot easily be otherwise), both as brother and sister and as husband and wife. The Hebrew version may however have in reality the same meaning as the Vedic at any rate the phrase "the knowledge of good and evil" well represents the late Vedic conception of the marriage relation, and the shame which overcomes Adam and Eve after their sin, as well as the penalty inflicted on the latter, both point to the real nature of the sin itself. In the Rigveda however the position is plainly stated. Yamī is full of a longing to fulfil her destiny, and to become the mother of mankind. Yama on the other hand is overwhelmed by scruples. the laws of the gods permit no exceptions, and their eyes are open wide to mark offence. 'Nay, but the gods designed us for wedlock,' Yamī suggests. 'Who knows their secret intent, or will venture to be their spokesman?' replies her brother. 'Heaven and Earth were brother and sister, yet they became the parents of the gods. why not you and I then of mankind?' But Yama is still unconvinced, and bids his sister look elsewhere for a husband. This suggestion is under the circumstances irritating, and Yamī fairly loses her temper and speaks out her mind. So far as our poem reaches, Yama does not yield. yet it is obvious that in the original form of the tale he must have given way.

Much more light from other literatures is needed before any certainty can be felt in this case as to the details of the interpretation. but it seems sufficiently clear that we have before us the sincere attempt of a theological school to grapple with fundamental problems of morality, such as the instinct of shame in regard to sexual relations, the prohibition of marriage between near relatives, and the rival claims of reason and the divine law to man's unquestioning obedience. The solution suggested in the Veda is perhaps near akin to that of Genesis. had the first human beings had more faith, the heavenly powers would have spared them the sin and pain of an animal mode of procreation, and yet would have found a way to perpetuate the human race.

## APPENDIX IV

### TABLE OF HYMNS.

#### 265 EXPLANATORY NOTES.

For a general explanation of the arrangement of the Table of hymns see §§ 255-260 above.

The following are the abbreviations used in the respective columns

*Period* A Archaic. S Strophic. N Normal. O Cretic. \* Popular. If these letters are in *small italic* characters the corresponding period is indicated by the metrical variations alone.

*Metre.* An. Anuṣṭubh (Tr. An. Trochaic Gāyatrī with extra verse). B or Brh. Brhātī. BS Brhātī-Satobhātī. G Gāyatrī. J Jagatī (Ct. J or Cont. J Contaminated Jagatī). Jt. Jagatī with final Triṣṭubh stanza. KS Kakubh-Satobhātī. Ma. or Mahāp. Mahāpañkti (E. or Ep. with rhythm of Epic Anuṣṭubh). P Pañkti (E. or Ep. with rhythm of Epic Anuṣṭubh). Pedap. Padapañkti. Prast. Prastāpañkti. Pur Purāṇaṇi. Sat. Satobhātī. Tr. Triṣṭubh (Dvip. Tr. Dvipadā Triṣṭubh. Ct. Tr. or Cont. Tr. Contaminated Triṣṭubh). Un. lyric Uneven lyric. Uṣ. or Uṇ. Uṇiḥ.

*Deity* A. or Ag. Agni (A. Jñ. Agni Jñāavedas. A. Rakṣ. Agni Rakṣoban. A. Vaiś. Agni Vaiśvānara). Aś. Aśvinā. Brh. or Brhasp. Brhaspati or Brahmanaspati. Dān. Dānastuti. DP Dyauṣ-Pṛthivī. I or Ind. Indra. Mar. Maruṭab. MIV Mitra-Varuna. MVA Mitra-Varuna-Aryaman. Pūṣ. Pūṣan. S. or So. Soma. Sar. Sarasvatī. Sav. Savitar. Uṣ. Uṣa. Var. Varuna. Viś. Viṣṇu. VD Viśve Devāḥ.

*Metrical notes.* See §§ 255-260

*Linguistic notes.* V Forms and words characteristic of the Rigveda proper, §§ 84-85. AV Forms and words characteristic of the popular Rigveda and Atharvaveda, §§ 86-87.

# 266 TABLE OF HYMNS

## MANDALA I

Period	Hymn	Metre	Deity	Verses		Metrical notes						Linguistic	
				Tr	Dim.	A	B	C	D	E	F	V	AV
N	A I 1-11 [Kusika]												
	1	G	Agni		27	-	2				-	-	4 1
S	2, 3 <sup>1</sup>	"	Various <sup>2</sup>		48	1	5				1	-	26 0
	3 <sup>4-6</sup>	Tr G	Indra		9	-	1				-	-	8 0
s	4-9	G	"		180	4	12				2	-	73 10
	10, 11	An	"		80	1	4				-	1	41 3

<sup>1</sup> 2 and 3 1-3, 7-12, 2 2, 7 Tr G

<sup>2</sup> 2 1-3 Vāyu, 4-6 Ind.-Vāyu, 7-9 MV

3 1-3 As, 7-9 VD, 10-12 Sarasvati

N	B. I 12-23												
	12, 14	G	Agni		72	-	1			2	-	30	0
C	13	"	Āpriya		36	-	-			1	-	8	3
	15-23 15	" <sup>1</sup>	Various <sup>2</sup>		285	-	14			4	-	60	9
*	23 16-18	"	Āpah		9	-	-			-	-	0	1
*	19-24	Various <sup>3</sup>	" <sup>4</sup>	1	21	-	-			3	1	1	14

<sup>1</sup> 22 11 Tr G

<sup>2</sup> 15 VD, 16 I, 17 I-Vai, 18 1-5 Brh, 6-9 Sadaspati,

19 Agni-Marutah, 20 Rbhavah, 21 I-A, 22 1-4 As, 5-8 Sav, 9-12 Gnāh, 13-15 DP,

16-21 Vis, 23 1-3 I-Vāyu, 4-6 MV, 7-9 I-Mar, 10-12 Mar, 13-15 Pūs <sup>3</sup> 19 Pur,

20 An, 21 G, 22-24 Epic An <sup>4</sup> 22-24 Charm

S	C I 24-30												
*	24 1, 2	Tr	Agni	8		-	-	-		2	-	-	0
	3-5, etc <sup>1</sup>	G	Various <sup>1</sup>	162		6	20			1	-	60	5
*	6-15	Tr	Varuna	40		2	1	3		4	1	2	3
	27 etc <sup>2</sup>	Tr G	Agni <sup>3</sup>	36		1	2			-	-	19	0
C	13, 30 16	App Tr	Devāh <sup>4</sup>	8		1	-	-		3	-	1	2
"	28 1-6	An	Ulūkhalā	22		-	4			-	1	0	10
"	7-9	G	Vanaspati	9		-	-			1	-	6	1
"	29	P	Charm	23		2	1			-	-	11	5

<sup>1</sup> 24 3-5 Sav, 25 Var, 26, 27 7-9 Agni, 30 1-12 Indra, 17-19 As, 20-22 Usas 30 10

Tr G <sup>2</sup> 27 1-6, 10-12 and 30 13-15 <sup>3</sup> 30 13-15 Indra <sup>4</sup> 30 16 Indra

C	D I 31-35												
	31	J <sup>1</sup>	Agni	72		-	-	2		6	1	-	33
	32	Tr	Indra	60		-	1	1		8	1	2	11
"	33	"	"	60		5	1	5		4	1	1	13
	34	J <sup>2</sup>	Asvinā	48		-	1	1		4	1	2	15
	35	Cont Tr <sup>3</sup>	Savitar	44		1	-	-		7	3	2	5

<sup>1</sup> 31 8, 16, 18 Tr

<sup>2</sup> 34 9, 12 Tr

<sup>3</sup> 35 1, 9 J

MANDALA I continued

					T	Ima	A	B	C	D	E	F	Ugaa		
S	E I 36-43 Kapva														
a	36	39	40	IN4	Agni etc. <sup>1</sup>	57	90	12	15	4	2	3	51 5		
	37	etc. <sup>2</sup>		G	Various	141		4	20		2	-	52 12		
	38	7-9, etc. <sup>3</sup>		Tr G		28		1	2		-	-	12 8		
<sup>1</sup> 39 Mar 40 Urhasp. <sup>2</sup> 37 SN -6 (Tr G) 38-45 Mar., 41 -6 MVA															
42 Pusan, 43 -6 Indra.      38 7-9 Mar 41 7-9 MVA, 45 7-9 Soma.															
S	F I 44-50 Kapva														
	41	47	48	DS	Agni, etc. <sup>1</sup>	60	100	4	14	1	13	3	47 3		
	45	49		An		50		-	1		1	1	18 0		
	46			G	Advinl	4		8	8		-	2	16 1		
C	50	-9			Surya	37		1	-		-	2	7 0		
*	re-3			Eple An	Charm	10		-	-		1		1 4		
<sup>1</sup> 47 Ad 48 Qpas.      49 Umas.															
	G I 51-57 Indra collection														
G	51-51	J <sup>1</sup>		Indra		208		2	-	10	23	1	1	121 5	
S	51-57					80		3	10	18	-	2		48 3	
51 53 2 in at., 52 3, 5, and 54 4, 1, 9 Tr															
A	H. I 58-64 Gotama Nodhas														
	58, 60	J <sup>1</sup> Tr		Agni		60		11	3	3	4	-	-	44 0	
n	59	Tr		Agni Valt		28		1	-	4	3	-	-	14 0	
	61			Gautami	Indra	63		19	2	7	2	-	1	56 4	
	62, 63	Tr				60		2	8	5	2	1	-	83 5	
x	64	JL		Marutah		59		3	-	-	4	-	-	85 3	
<sup>1</sup> 58 7-9 Tr															
N	K. I 65-73 Agni collection														
	65-70	Pentad		Agni		132		4	1	-	-	-	-	110 9	
	71 73	Tr		"		120		3	1	5	9	-	-	89 8	
S	L I 74-93 Gotama														
	74 etc. <sup>1</sup>	G		Agni		73		5	2		-	-	-	20 2	
	76 etc	Tr				63		10	-	9	5	-	-	35 0	
"	79 4-6, etc. <sup>2</sup>	Lyric		Various <sup>3</sup>		13	32	2	8	2	1	1	1	26 3	
"	80, etc.	P		Indra		150		3	8		2	2		45 6	
"	82 6, etc. <sup>4</sup>	J <sup>1</sup>		"		130		10	8	14	9	3	1	44 12	
"	81 -6	An.				24		1	2		1	-	-	7 2	
"	81 2-15, 80	G		L, Mar		45		-	5		-	-	-	21 8	
*	6-8	Tr				12		-	-	-	5	-	-	2 5	
A	88	Un. lyric <sup>5</sup>		Marutah		20		4	4	5	4	-	-	17 1	
"	89	App. Tr		Coanogony		4		1	-	-	-	-	-	0 0	
"	90 7-3	Tr G		VD		15		-	1		1	-	-	4 0	
"	6-8 etc. <sup>7</sup>	G		"		42		-	-	-	-	-	-	12 3	
"	9	Eple An				4		-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0	
"	91 7-6, etc. <sup>8</sup>	Tr <sup>7</sup>		Soma		88		6	5	2	7	12	1	1	43 0
"	93 7-3	Eple An.		Ag Soma		12		-	-	-	-	-	-	4 1	
"	4-8	Cont. Tr		"		31		1	1	2	7	-	3	4 4	
"	9-1	G				9		-	-	-	-	-	-	4 0	
<sup>1</sup> 74, 75 78, 79 7 re. <sup>2</sup> 76 77 79 7-3 <sup>3</sup> 79 4-6 (Ugn.) to Agni;															
84 7-9 (Dtm Up) 9, 80 (DS) to Indra 92 3-5 (Us.) to Umas 6-8 (Us.) to Ad.															
80-82 5, 84 10-12.      83 6, 83 Indra 85 (5, Tr) 87 Mar; 89 7-9 (6, 2, 9 Tr)															
VD See § 244 L. <sup>7</sup> 90 6-8 VD 91 5-25 Soma.      91 7-4, 6-18 (6 G															
7 Us.) 10-12, 82, 83 to Soma; 92 4 (J) 5-8, 9-1 to Umas.															



## MANDALA I, continued

				Tr	Dīm	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu
C	M I 94-115 [Kutsa]											
	94-99 <sup>1</sup>	Tr <sup>2</sup>	Agni <sup>3</sup>	137		2	4	2	30	3	-	47 15
*	97	G	"		19	-	6			1	-	0 2
	100-103	Tr <sup>4</sup>	Indra	170		5	2	12	22	9	-	67 15
A	104	"	"	36		8	3	4	4	-	-	16 3
	105	An <sup>5</sup>	"	3	74	2	5			-	-	24 15
	106-111	J, Tr <sup>6</sup>	Various <sup>6</sup>	155		2	4	10	30	4	3	61 14
	112-114	" <sup>7</sup>	" <sup>8</sup>	198		2	7	9	34	8	4	70 12
	115	Tr	Sūrya	22		1	-	-	1	4	-	2 5

<sup>1</sup> except 97<sup>2</sup> 94 J (2 fin st Tr)<sup>3</sup> 98 A Vaiś, 99 A Jāt<sup>4</sup> 101 1-7 J, 8-11 Tr, 102 J<sup>5</sup> with refrain, <sup>6</sup> Brh with refrain, <sup>7</sup> Tr<sup>6</sup> 106 Jt, 107 Tr to VD, 108, 109 Tr to I-Agni, 110 Cont J (5, 9 Tr), 111 Jt to Rbhavah<sup>7</sup> 112 J (2 fin st Tr), 113 Tr, 114 Cont J (2 fin st Tr)<sup>8</sup> 112 Aś, 113 Usas, 114 Rudra

	N. I 116-126 [Pajra]											
N	116, 117	Tr	Aśvinā	200		5	4	48	33	12	4	77 22
"	118, 119	Tr, J	"	84		-	1	8	15	2	2	51 7
A	120 1-9	Un lyric <sup>1</sup>	"	19	10	9	3	5	3	2	1	11 1
*	10-12	G	Dānastuti		9	-	-		-	-		0 2
A	121, 122	Tr	Indra, VD	120		29	6	14	12	2	1	99 5
C	123-126 <sup>5</sup>	Tr <sup>2</sup>	Various <sup>3</sup>	152		1	1	2	24	1	1	38 9
*	126 6, 7	Epic An	Dānastuti		8	-	-		-	-		1 1

<sup>1</sup> See § 244 11<sup>2</sup> 125 4, 5 J<sup>3</sup> 123, 124 Usas, 125-126<sup>5</sup> Dānastuti

	O I 127-139 [Divodāsa]											
A	127	Atyasti	Agni	33	45	26	16	7	1	2	-	50 1
s	128	"	"	24	32	3	3	6	-	1	-	30 1
A	129	"	Indra	31	46	21	10	2	2	2	-	47 0
s	130-132	" <sup>1</sup>	"	70	88	7	3	7	7	1	-	93 4
*	133 1-5	Mixed <sup>2</sup>	Charm	4	15	-	3	2	1	1	-	1 12
A	6, 7	Atyasti	Indra	6	8	4	3	3	-	-	-	6 1
"	134, 135	"	Vāyu	47	56	10	5	2	7	2	1	61 3
N	136-139	" <sup>3</sup>	Various <sup>4</sup>	69	97	1	6	1	3	6	3	78 6

<sup>1</sup> 130 10 Tr<sup>2</sup> 133 1 Tr, 2-4 Epic An, 5 G<sup>3</sup> 136 7 Tr, 139 5 B,<sup>4</sup> 136, 137 MV, 138 Pūsan, 139 VD

For the following variations of Atyasti see Ch ix, App, 127 6 (No 88), 129 8, 9 (Nos 81, 80), 133 6 (No 85), 135 7, 8 (No 74), 137 (No 77)

## MANDALA I continued.

				Tr.	Dm.	A	D	C	D	E	F	Linga.
B	P I 140-164	Māmalaya										
C	140, 110	J Tr <sup>1</sup>	Agni	72		8		2	10			29 0
	141 141	J <sup>2</sup>		80		5	2	7	7	3		51 0
C	112	An	Apriya		8					1	-	10 3
C	143	Jt.	Agni	32		1			4		1	17 0
	143	Cont. J		30		3	1	2	1			8 8
a	147 149	T		55		11	3	8	3			33 1
	150	Un lyric <sup>3</sup>		3	0	1	2	1		-		0 0
	151 153	Tr	MV	80		3	8	10	5	1		52
	1 1 150	J	Viana	68		4	1	14	3	1	2	1
C	157	?	Aśvinā	21			1		4			7 1
	158 1-3	Tr		40		2	3	4	2			16 1
	6	An.			4		1					1 0
C	159 150	J	DI	10		1			8	-	-	18 1
*	161	Jt.	Rbharab	50		1		0	11	1	4	0 29
*	162, 163	Tr	[Ritual]	139	1	1		6	1	1	21	12 54
*	164	Cont. Tr <sup>4</sup>		40	6	1	3	0	27	5	20	9 72

<sup>1</sup> 140 ro and 2 dn. & Tr 110; J      <sup>2</sup> 141 2 dn. st. Tr      140 Vitrā.  
 see § 213 H.      <sup>3</sup> 151 J      151 Tr      157 2 dn. st. Tr      163 Cont.  
 Tr (3, 6 J).      <sup>4</sup> 161, 11. 11 8 8; Epic An.

A	Q I 165 191	Māna										
a	165 166 171	Tr <sup>1</sup>	Ind Mar	139		0	2	8	3	3		63 0
	167 169	Tr		109		31	6	15	7		5	77 8
*	170	Epic An.		5	15	2	-	1				0
	172	G	Marutab		9	1				1		2 1
	173 174	Tr	Indra	90		43	10	15	8	1	1	08 1
	175 176	An		4	20	8	3	1		1		20 2
	177	Tr		19		1		2	3	1		9 3
	178			10		5		2	4		1	15 0
*	179		[Agastya]	21	3		1	1	-		2	2 11
	180 181		Aśvinā	74		12	3	13	5	3		57 1
c	182	J <sup>2</sup>		31		2	2	3	7	1	1	11 7
	183-185	Tr		82		5	2	0	4	6		44 5
	186		VI <sup>3</sup>	45		10	2	5	3			5 4
	187	G			37	5	5					15 3
C	188		Apriya		53	2	-			1		2 4
	189 190	Tr	Agni,	62		7	2	7		5		40 4
			Bhāsp.									
*	191	Epic An.	Charm	60		1	5			4	3	5 40

166, 168 J (2 dn. st. Tr).      166 Marutab      <sup>3</sup> 170 B. ; Tr      175 a.  
 176 6 Tr ; for 175 see Ch. ix, App. No. 29      170 ; B.      <sup>4</sup> 180 Cont. Tr  
<sup>1</sup> 182 a, 8 Tr      <sup>2</sup> 185 DP      187 3, 8-7 An. ; for see Ch. ix, App. No. 31  
<sup>3</sup> 191 ro- Mahāp., 3 see Ch. ix, App. No. 67

## MANDALA II

				Tr	Dīm	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu
N	[Gr̥tsamada]											
	1, 2	J	Agni	112		5	2	3	10	1	-	71 7
C	3	Tr <sup>1</sup>	Āpriya	44		-	1	-	10	2	2	6 4
A	4	"	Agni	36		12	2	5	1	-	1	35 0
	5	An	"		32	2	-			1	1	9 1
	6	Ti G	"		24	1	-			1	-	16 0
	7, 8, 41 <sup>2</sup>	G	Various <sup>3</sup>		84	1	2			1	1	22 5
*	8 6	Epic An <sup>4</sup>	Ag-I-So		4	-	-			-	-	1 0
	9, 10	Tr	Agni	48		2	2	2	4	1	-	16 2
S	11 1-20	Virāt	Indra	80		-	4	13	3	-	1	43 4
		sthānā										
	11 21, 14-18,											
	21	Tr <sup>5</sup>	"	198		8	6	20	19	5	4	74 11
C	12, 13	Tr, Jt	"	111		1	2	2	17	6	2	17 13
A	19, 20, 22	Tr <sup>6</sup>	"	77	7	35	6	9	12	3	1	85 4
	23-26	J <sup>7</sup>	Brhasp	169		6	4	6	21	5	1	64 6
	27-32 <sup>3</sup>	Tr <sup>8</sup>	Various <sup>9</sup>	215		10	2	15	24	1	1	94 19
*	32 4, 5	Cont J	Rākā	8		-	-	1	1	2	1	3 1
*	6-8	Epic An	Sinivālī		12	-	-		-	-		0 5
	33-38	Tr <sup>10</sup>	Various <sup>11</sup>	269		9	1	21	28	6	5	108 25
C	39, 40	Tr	" <sup>12</sup>	54		-	-	2	10	22	-	6 14
A	41 16-18	An <sup>13</sup>	Sarasvatī	1	11	-	1		-	-		1 1
*	42, 43	Ct Tr, J	Charms	23		-	-	-	4	1	3	1 24

<sup>1</sup> 3 6, 7 J<sup>2</sup> exc 8 6, 41 16-18<sup>3</sup> 7, 8 Agni, 41 1-3 Vāyu, <sup>4</sup> 4-6 MV,

7-9 Aś, 10-12 Ind, 13-15 VD, 19-21 DP

<sup>4</sup> or G with extra verse<sup>5</sup> 16 J,17, 21 Jt <sup>6</sup> For 22 see Ch ix, App Nos 87, 79, 84<sup>7</sup> 23 15, 19, 24 12 Tr<sup>8</sup> 30 11, 32 1-3 J, 31 Jt<sup>9</sup> 27, 29 Ādityāh, 28 Varuna, 30-32<sup>3</sup> VD<sup>10</sup> 34 Jt,36, 37 J <sup>11</sup> 33 Rudra, 34 Mar, 35 Apām Napāt, 36, 37 VD, 38 Sav<sup>12</sup> 39 Aś,

40 Soma Pūsan

<sup>13</sup> 41 18 B

# MANTRA III

		Tr		A		H		C		I		R		Y		U		L		S		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N		R		A		M		N	
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## MANDALA IV

				Tr	Dim	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu.
S	[Vāmadeva]											
	1-3, 6	Tr <sup>1</sup>	Agni <sup>1</sup>	269	6	29	9	27	13	1	1	181 8
	4, 5	"	" <sup>2</sup>	120		5	-	23	15	1	2	61 10
	7	Mixed <sup>3</sup>	"	24	20	1	1	4	1	-	1	16 0
	8, 9, etc <sup>4</sup>	G	Ag, Indra	269		8	21			3	1	120 8
	10	Padap <sup>5</sup>	Agni	8		-	-	4	-	-	1	13 0
N	11, 12	Tr	"	48		2	2	4	12	-	-	21 2
"	13 <sup>1-4</sup>	"	Sūrya	16		1	-	1	2	-	-	2 1
"	5	"	"	4		-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2
N	14	"	VD	16		-	-	-	3	-	-	1 0
	16, 17, etc <sup>6</sup>	"	Indra <sup>6</sup>	450		39	16	35	31	2	5	307 10
*	18	"	[Indra]	52		-	-	3	4	1	2	4 19
N	24 <sup>1-8</sup>	"	Indra	32		1	1	2	5	-	-	15 0
*	9, 10	T, Ep An		4	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	0 1
N	25	Tr	Indra	32		1	-	-	5	1	-	8 1
"	33-37 <sup>4</sup>	Tr <sup>7</sup>	Rbhavah	176		6	4	12	21	2	-	79 7
"	37 <sup>5-8</sup>	An	"		16	-	2			1	-	11 1
"	38-39 <sup>5</sup> , etc <sup>8</sup>	T <sup>1</sup> <sup>8</sup>	Various <sup>8</sup>	244		21	9	13	14	6	2	114 10
*	39 <sup>6</sup>	Epic An	Dadhikrā		4	-	-		-	-	-	0 1
	46-48	G, An <sup>9</sup>	Vāyu <sup>9</sup>	55		2	7		-	-	-	28 0
N	49, etc <sup>10</sup>	G	Various <sup>10</sup>	54		1	2		-	-	-	17 0
"	50-57 <sup>3 11</sup>	Tr, J <sup>11</sup>	" <sup>11</sup>	192	4	3	5	10	17	1	1	57 11
*	57 <sup>4-8</sup>	Epic An <sup>12</sup>	Charm	5	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 9
*	58	Tr <sup>13</sup>	Ghrta	44		-	-	2	10	2	4	9 3

<sup>1</sup> 1 1-3 see Ch ix, App Nos 75, 62, 83<sup>2</sup> 4 Agni Raksohan, 5 Agni Vais<sup>3</sup> 7 1 J, 2-6 An, 7-11 Tr<sup>4</sup> 8, 9, 15 1-6 Agni 15 7-10 Dān, 30-32 21 Indra,22-24 Dān <sup>5</sup> see Ch ix, App No 21, 5 No 52<sup>6</sup> 16, 17, 19-23, 26-29,

26, 27 Indra-Śyena, 28 Ind-Soma

<sup>7</sup> 36 Jt<sup>8</sup> 38, 39 1-5 Tr, 40 J (1 Tr)

to Dadhikrā, 41, 42 to I-Var, 43-45 to Aś (45 Jt)

<sup>9</sup> 46 G, 47, 48 An, 46,

47 to Indra Vāyu

<sup>10</sup> 49 Ind-Bih, 52 Usas, 55 8-10 VD (8 T1 G), 56 5-7 DP<sup>11</sup> 50 1-9 Tr to Brh, 10, 11 Jt to Ind-Brh, 51 T1 to Usas, 53 J, 54 Jt, to

Savita, 55 1-7 Tr to VD, 56 1-4 Tr to DP, 57 1-3 to Ksetrapati (1 An, 2, 3 Tr)

<sup>12</sup> 57 5 see Ch ix, App No 14, 8 Tr<sup>13</sup> 58 11 J to Agni

MANDATA A

T Mn A D C I R R Liaga

A A. The Atri collection

2	Tr	Agri	43	3	5		1	13	2
7-10	Atri An.		232	29	42		1	1	140
23-27	Tr	Indra	27	1	1	5	1	1	13
28		Dina tot	12				2		8
30 etc	Atri An.	Indra	3	40	5	5			13
36	Tr		1		1	1	2		15
41		VD	79		11	10	4		51
47			60		5	5	4	1	39
4			41		8	2	6		37
50-52	Atri An	Varu	6	3-4	16	4		7	169
53-54	G		24		3	12		1	32
55-56	Lytic	Marutah	57	7	12	4	6	1	67
64-65	Tr G	Varu	34		1	3			9

1 G (I) 7 9 10 16 23 (19 Tr (I) 7 (Lm. Lyric see § 112 (ii))  
 23, 24 29 40, 1 ih 30 J 41 An. 30; Natar 1 G  
 Vāyu; 27 Dm. L to I Vāyu Dm. L to Agri and VD; 32 to Marutah  
 (3; Dina tot); 64-67 to MV 72 L to MV; 73 74 to A 7 I to  
 4; L to A; 81 Pril 1 86 Ind Ar 1; to Agri and VD;  
 61 (An. 9, 14) to Marutah, 71 to MV 82-86 to Natar 63 K9  
 Tr G) see § 214; 66 B (7 8 1) 87 see Ch. 12, App. N 63 64 0 to  
 MV 62 27 to Savit r

N B The later collection

1 3 etc.	Tr., J	Agri	216	2	2	19	22	2	83
4	T		11	2	2	11	1		17
5	G	Vijaya		20			3		6
13 14 etc		Agri	83	1			1		32
29 etc.	Tr	Indra	276	6	3	18	21	2	107
30 3		Dina tot	4					1	1
40 3-9	Tr Eplo	Charm	12	8	1		2	4	1
	An								
12 7 etc	Tr J	Varu	11	1	1	3	30	11	67
14 1 etc			102	8	3	29	37	11	111
41 4 5	Cont. Tr	Agri	8					4	0
61 4 5	Eplo An.	Charm			1		1	2	0
78 3-9			40						0
79	Paktil	Ura	43		1		1		23
83	Cont. Tr	Parjanya	20	4		2	4	3	7

1 3 Tr 8, 11 J 12, 15 Tr 27-29 Tr (Dān.) 28-29 Tr (3 J) 49-51 A.  
 Jit. 18, 11; 20; 27 4-6 An (Dān.); 28-30 (1 An.) 29 80-84 (1-4  
 Dān.), 31, 32, 31-3 J, Tr (Dān.) 37 40 4. 3, 9 Eplo An. 42-44 Tr.,  
 40 3-6 J to VD; 62 Tr 63 J 69 Tr to MV; 78 4 T to A; 80 Tr to Uma,  
 81 J to Sav 82 Tr to Varu. 79 2 T to A; 11-13 J 16 Jt 47 Tr  
 48 J 49 Tr., 51-53 J to VD; 46 7 8 Jt. to Gosh; 51 J (4 Tr) 53 Jt 57 J with  
 2 An. at Tr 58 Tr., 59 Jt. 60 Tr (7 8 J) to Marutah 70 77 Tr to Advint,  
 9 Eplo An.

## MANDALA VI

				Tr	Dim	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu
A	Bharadvāja											
	1 The Agni series											
C	1	Tr	Agni	52		2	-	1	5	-	-	34 1
	2 1-10, 14	An	"		60	4	10		-	-		39 0
	2 11, 3, 4	Tr	"	69		13	5	10	1	-	-	65 2
C	5-8	" <sup>1</sup>	" <sup>1</sup>	112		3	-	2	13	1	-	78 4
"	9	"	Ag Vaiś	28		-	1	-	2	-	1	3 6
	10-13	"	Agni	98		22	7	17	3	1	1	91 2
	15 1-15	J, Tr <sup>2</sup>	"	62	1	7	7	6	3	-	-	47 0
	16-18	Mixed <sup>3</sup>	"	5	7	-	-	-	-	2	-	5 1
"	19	Tr	"	4		-	-	-	2	-	-	0 2
"	16 1-45	G <sup>4</sup>	"		126	5	8		-	-	-	78 4
	46	Ti	"	4		1	-	3	-	-	-	5 0
"	47, 48	Epic An	"		8	-	-		-	-	-	0 3

<sup>1</sup> 7, 8 to Ag Vaiś, 7 6, 7 J, 8 Jt<sup>2</sup> 15 1-9 J<sup>3</sup> 15 16 Tr, 17 An, 18 B<sup>4</sup> 16 25-27 Ti G

	2 The Indra series											
"	17, 20-26	Tr	Indra	346		78	18	39	34	2	4	231 18
"	18, 19, 30-32	"	"	169		8	3	8	25	4	-	100 8
C	27	"	" <sup>1</sup>	32		2	-	2	5	-	3	16 2
*	28 1-7	"	"	28		-	-	1	2	-	-	2 6
*	3	Epic An	Charm		4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2
	29, etc <sup>3</sup>	Tr	Indra	252		36	6	39	13	-	1	192 12
	42, 43, 44 1-6	An <sup>4</sup>	"	1	50	3	2	1	-	-	-	28 0
	44 7-9	Pentad	"	12		-	-	-	-	-	-	5 1
	22-24	Tr	Soma	12		-	-	-	-	2	-	3 0
	45	G	Indra		100	8	7		-	-	-	61 0
	46	BS	"	21	35	7	7	4	-	1	1	34 3
n	47 1-5	Tr	Soma	20		1	-	1	2	-	-	5 1
"	6-14	"	Indra	36		3	-	-	1	-	-	24 2
C	15-18	Cont Ti	"	16		-	-	-	2	-	3	0 1
"	19-21	Tr <sup>5</sup>	VD	9	3	1	1	-	3	-	-	2 2
	22-25	Mixed <sup>6</sup>	Dānastuti	6	4	1	-	1	1	-	-	5 1
*	26-28	Tr <sup>7</sup>	Charm	12		-	-	-	2	-	-	0 2
*	29-31	Cont Tr	"	12		1	-	-	2	1	3	0 7

<sup>1</sup> 27 7, 8 Dānastuti<sup>2</sup> 28 2-4 J<sup>3</sup> 29, 33-41, 44 10-21<sup>4</sup> 42 4 B,

43 Dim Usnih

<sup>5</sup> 47 19 B<sup>6</sup> 47 22 Ti, 23 An, 24 Tr G, 25 Dvap Tr<sup>7</sup> 47 27 J

## MANDALA VI continued

				Tr	Dim.	A	B	C	D	E	F	Liaga
8 The Vāive Devāḥ series												
	48 1-11 etc. <sup>1</sup>	BS <sup>1</sup>	VD <sup>1</sup>	35	69	15	6	6	8	8		65 4
*	49 etc. <sup>2</sup>	Epíc An.	Cosmogony		4							0 8
	50 etc. <sup>3</sup>	Tr	VD	193		21	12	19	6	1	2	105 6
*	51 16	Epíc An			4							0 0
*	52 1-3	Tr	Charm	12					1			0 8
O	53 4-6, etc.		Various <sup>4</sup>	42	18	1			8	1		17 8
"	54 7-10, 55-57	G	Pūṣan		131	1	4					80 18
c	58 1-10, etc.	"	Various <sup>4</sup>		61	1	1			1		29 0
c	59 1-10, etc. <sup>5</sup>	J Tr <sup>6</sup>		61		2		5	11	1		39 8
	60-63 8	Tr		205		55	21	21	19			148 8
O	64 9-11	Jt.	I. Var	12					1	1		6 0
	65-71 78	Tr <sup>6</sup>	Various	92		1	2	1	10			48 8
	72	Cont. Tr	I. Soma	20		2		8	2	1	4	8 0
*	73	Tr	S Rudra	16				1	4		1	1 8
*	74	Tr	Charm	52	25		2	1	8	2	4	2 45

<sup>1</sup> with 51 1-3 Dim. Uṣṇā to VD; 60 1-3 to Ind. Agni (13 Tr 14 B 5 An. 49-51 2, 52 1-3 00 1-3 to Ind. Agni <sup>2</sup> 52 4-6, 6, 17 to VD; 58 (J) to Pūṣan; 59 1-6 B to Ind. Agni. 52 1-10 to VD <sup>3</sup> 59 1-10 (An.) and 60 1-10 to Ind. Agni 61 1-11 (1-11 Tr G) to Sarasvatī <sup>4</sup> 61 1-3 J 3, 14 Jt to Sarasvatī; 62 Tr. to Aśvinā. <sup>5</sup> 63 1-3 Aś. 9 Dān; 64, 65 Uṣā 66 Mar; 67 MV; 68 1-4 Ind. Varuṇa. 69 Ind. Viṣṇu 70 DP (J); 71 Sav (1-3 J) 72 Brhasp. 73 1-3 5 6, 9 Epíc An. 7 Pankti.

## MANDALA VII.

8 Varīṣṭha												
1. The Agni and Indra series												
	1 8 4, 7 8	Tr <sup>1</sup>	Agni	201		11	24	58	9	8	3	102 7
	2 1-7		Āpriya	23		2	1	8	1			14 1
C	3 9-15		Agni	122		4	1	8	26	2		58 2
	6			28		1	2	8	6			10 4
O	14, 16, 22	BS	Various	66	99	15	11	12	7	4		79 6
	15	G	Agni		45	1				1		19 0
	17	Dvip Tr	[Āpriya]	14				4	2			8 0
C	18 1-11	Tr	Indra	84		1	8	6	17	2		84 7
	19-23		Dīnastoti	16					1			6 0
	19-20, 21 10-12		Indra	209		20	21	56	18			218 9
	21 1-9	G			27							9 1
*	22	Tr	[Varīṣṭha]	56		2		8	11	1	1	1 24

<sup>1</sup> 1 10 Virāj 5 18 Agni Valā. 6 6, 7 Agni Valā. 14 (B, 2, 3 Tr), 16 to Agni; 22 (3 see Ch. ix, App. No. 72) to Indra. 23 1-8, 61 10-12 Virāj.



## MANDALA VII, continued

				Tr	Dim.	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu.
	2	The first Viśve Devāh series										
	34 1-21, etc <sup>1</sup>	Pentad	VD <sup>1</sup>	64		-	-	2	-	2	1	28 4
	22-25	Tr.	"	15		1	-	2	2	-	-	2 2
*	35	"	"	59		2	-	-	6	2	7	9 6
	36-40	"	"	149		15	22	25	7	1	-	74 4
C	41, 44, 59 7, 8	" <sup>2</sup>	Various <sup>3</sup>	55		2	-	4	9	3	2	10 5
	42, 43	"	Agni & VD	42		4	5	11	2	-	-	21 1
C	45-48, etc <sup>4</sup>	" <sup>4</sup>	Various <sup>4</sup>	105		4	1	6	7	-	1	44 2
*	49	"	Āpah	15		-	1	-	2	1	-	2 2
*	50	Cont Tr	Charm	16		2	-	-	2	4	1	0 13
C	55 1, 59 9-11	G	Various <sup>5</sup>		12	-	1	-	-	-	-	2 0
*	55 2-4	Lyric <sup>6</sup>	Charm		12	-	2	-	-	-	-	1 0
*	5-9	Epic An	"		16	-	-	-	-	2	-	0 8
	56 12-58	Tr	Marutah	102		9	5	24	2	-	-	63 3
	59 1-6	BS	"	9	15	1	3	1	-	1	-	10 2
*	12	Epic An	Charm		4	-	-	-	-	1	-	0 3

<sup>1</sup> with 56 1-11 to Marutah      <sup>2</sup> 41 1, 44 1 J      <sup>3</sup> 41 Bhaga, 44 Dadhikrā,  
 59 7, 8 Marutah      <sup>4</sup> 45 Sav, 46 Rudra (Jt), 47 Āpah, 48 Rbhavah, 51, 52  
 Ādityāh, 53 DP, 54 Vāstospati      <sup>5</sup> 55 1 Vāstospati, 59 9-11 Marutah      <sup>6</sup> see  
 Ch ix, App No 54

	3	The second Viśve Devāh series										
	60-65	Tr	MV	149		8	8	25	8	2	1	46 5
	66 1-9, etc <sup>1</sup>	G	Various <sup>1</sup>		82	4	13	-	-	-	-	42 1
	10-15, etc <sup>2</sup>	BS	" <sup>2</sup>	32	52	5	8	1	-	-	1	47 1
*	16	Pur	Sūrya	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	0 2
	67-73	Tr <sup>3</sup>	Āśvinā	177		7	14	35	19	4	2	105 8
n	75-77	"	Usas	81		1	1	9	12	-	1	32 5
C	78-80	"	"	46		1	-	1	14	-	1	27 4
"	82, 83	J	I-Varuna	76		1	-	1	4	4	2	22 5
	84-88	Tr	Varuna <sup>4</sup>	120		5	11	25	2	1	3	57 11
C	89 1-4, etc <sup>5</sup>	G <sup>5</sup>	Various <sup>5</sup>		18	-	2	-	-	-	-	3 2
"	5	J	Charm	4		-	-	-	1	-	-	1 0
c	90, 91	Tr	I-Vāyu	51		-	-	2	8	1	-	27 3
	92-100 <sup>6</sup>	"	Various <sup>7</sup>	187		18	13	26	15	2	2	88 4
C	101	"	Parjanya	23		1	1	-	5	-	-	2 7
~	103	" <sup>8</sup>	"	36	4	2	-	1	5	1	2	4 28
~	104 1-24	Cont Tr	Charms	96		-	-	4	19	5	3	7 39
~	25	Epic An	Ind Soma		4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0

<sup>1</sup> 66 1-3, 7-9, 17-19 MV, 4-6 Ādityāh, 94 Ind Ag, 96 4-6 Sarasvat      <sup>2</sup> 66 10-15  
 MVA, 74 Āś, 81 Usas, 96 1-3 (3 Prast) Sar      <sup>3</sup> 68 1-7 Virāj      <sup>4</sup> 84, 85  
 Ind-Varuna      <sup>5</sup> 89 1-4 (4 Tr G) Charm, 102 Parjanya      <sup>6</sup> except 94, 96  
 92 I Vāyu, 93 I Agni, 95 Sar, 97, 98 Ind Brh, 99, 100 Viśnu      <sup>8</sup> 103 1  
 Epic An

# MANDALA VIII

				T Dīm A B C D E F							Linga	
S	A. VIII 1 11 Kapva col lections											
	1 3, 4	BS <sup>1</sup>	Indra	93	202	18	21	12	7	3	1	110 11
*	1 11	Tr	Dan.	4			1					0 9
*	1 14			4			1				1	0 3
	2	Tr G	Indra		127	2	5					56 7
*	3 24	P (Ep.)			5	1	-					0 3
	5	G	Aśvinā <sup>2</sup>	1	110	4	5			8		41 9
	6, 7 9-11 <sup>4</sup>	G	Varou	20	221	2	23	1	4	8	8	141 0
	8 9 7-9, 16-8 An.	Aśvinā			104		6			2	-	24 1

<sup>1</sup> 1 -3 B. (4 Sat.); 3 -23 (Tr An. 22 23 G) 4 -23 (Pur). <sup>2</sup> 1 30-32  
 3 21-23, 4 9-21 Dān. 4 5 8 Pūṣan 2 20-22 G (Dān) 5 24, 25 Tr G  
 27 P., 28 D 29 An <sup>3</sup> 5 37-39 Dān. 6 Indra (4-6 Dān.) 7 Mar (33 Tr G);  
 9 -6, 10-5, 9-10 Aś. (mixed metres) 11 Agni (4 Tr G 20 Tr). <sup>4</sup> 9 16-8  
 Upas and Aś.

A	B VIII 12 31 Various early collections											
	12, 18 18-19	Dīm. Uṣ.	Indra		223	6	18			8		128 4
S	14, 17 -13	G			84	2	8			-	-	19 7
	15 etc.	Uṣ.	Various	26	60	12	8	5	3	8		29 2
S	16	Tr G	Indra		86	1	4			-	1	18 0
	19-22	KS <sup>6</sup>	Various	144	204	45	28	82	11	7	2	171 11
	23-26	Uṣuḥ		101	229	40	41	16	6	5	2	173 7
	27-30	Various <sup>7</sup>	VD	43	92	11	12	8	4	2	-	86 8
	31	G <sup>8</sup>			61		7	6		1	-	19 1

<sup>1</sup> 18 -9 Adityāḥ. <sup>6</sup> 15 Indra (4-6 Dīm Uṣ.); 17 14 5 Ind. and Vāstospati  
 (BS) 18 20-22 Adityāḥ. <sup>7</sup> 19 24 Uṣ. 27 P 22 3, 5, 7 B. 8 An., see Ch. IX,  
 App No. 45. <sup>8</sup> 19 1-33 Agni 34, 35 MVA. 26, 27 Dān. 20 Marutah 21 -16  
 Indra, 7 8 Dān; 22 Aś. 23 20, 26 20 An. 28 16, 21 23 G <sup>9</sup> 23 Agni;  
 24 1-27 Indra, 28-30 Dān. 25 1-9 MIV 10-2 VD., 22-24 Dān. 26 1-19 Aś., 20-23 Vāyu.  
 27 BS. 28 G (4 Pur) 29 see Ch. IX, App No 4 30 see § 248 II. <sup>10</sup> 31 3-18 P

MANDALA VIII, *continued*

				Tr	Dīm	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu
S	C VIII 32-59 Kanva and other collections											
	32, 34 16-18	G	Indra <sup>1</sup>		99	-	7		5	-		33 2
	33 1-15	B	"	15	45	3	8	1	-	-	1	28 0
	16-18	G	"		9	-	-		-	-		0 3
+	19	Epic An			4	-	-		-	-		0 6
	34 1-15	An	Indra		36	-	5		2	-		9 2
	35-38 <sup>2</sup>	Lyric <sup>2</sup>	Various <sup>2</sup>	66	93	1	9	12	4	5	-	34 7
	39-41 <sup>3</sup>	Mahāp <sup>4</sup>	" <sup>5</sup>		165	6	12		2	-		44 9
	40 12	Tr	I-Agni	4		-	-	1	2	-	-	3 0
	42 1-3	"	Varuna	12		-	-	-	1	-	-	0 0
	4-6	An	Aśvinā		12	-	-		-	-		4 0
"	43, 44	G	Agni		189	3	1		7	2		64 9
	15	"	Indra		126	-	8		-	-		43 4
A	46	Mixed <sup>6</sup>	" <sup>7</sup>	28	88	24	23	2	1	2	1	65 3
N	47 1-12	Mahāp	MVA		54	-	4		-	-		17 2
+	13-18	" (Ep)	Charm		24	-	-		-	-		0 3
	48	Ti <sup>8</sup>	Soma	60		1	-	9	5	1	-	15 7
	19-54	BS	Indra	84	140	8	13	5	10	3	2	123 8
	55, 56	G <sup>9</sup>	Dānastuti		31	2	3		1	-		17 7
	57	Tr	Aśvinā	16		-	2	1	1	1	-	8 1
	58	"	"	12		-	-	-	3	-	-	1 8
~	59 1-5	Cont J	I-Varuna	20		-	-	1	3	4	-	3 2
	6, 7	Cont Tr	"	8		-	-	1	1	-	4	0 3

<sup>1</sup> 34 16-18 Dān      <sup>2</sup> 35 Un lyric (see § 242 iv) to As, 36, 37 (see Ch ix, App Nos 73, 61, 71, 70) to Indra, 38 G to Ind Agni      <sup>3</sup> except 40 12      <sup>4</sup> 40 2 see Ch ix, App No 76      <sup>5</sup> 39 Agni, 40 Ind Agni, 41 Varuna      <sup>6</sup> see § 248 iii  
<sup>7</sup> 46 25-28 Vāṇ, 21-24, 29-33 Dān      <sup>8</sup> 48 5 J      <sup>9</sup> 55 3, 5 An, 4 Tr G, 56 5 P

## MAṆḌALA VIII continued.

					Tr.	Dim.	A	B	O	D	E	F	Liagu.
A	D VIII 60-103 (Various small collections)												
	60 61 66 14	B8	Indra <sup>1</sup>		78	180	21	20	7	8	1	1	98 12
S	62	Pankti <sup>2</sup>				48	1	1			1		12 1
	63 -17 64, 65	G				106	2	13			1		41 2
	63 12	Tr	Devāh		4		-	1	-	1	-	-	1 0
*	66 5	Hpto An.				4	-	-		-	-	-	0 2
	67-69	G	Indra <sup>4</sup>		2	189	14	19			8	1	72 8
	70 71 0-15	B8	Ind., Agni		26	53	15	15	2	2	-	-	49 8
S	71 1-9, 79	Tr G	Ag., Boma			55	-	-		-	-	-	22 4
	72-74	G <sup>8</sup>	Various <sup>7</sup>			145	12	8			8	-	45 3
S	75-78	G	Indra <sup>8</sup>		4	146	5	7			-	1	87 12
	80 -9, etc. <sup>18</sup>	G <sup>10</sup>	Various <sup>10</sup>		9	150	8	9	1		-	1	63 4
	81	Tr G	De sh		4		-	1	-	-	-	-	2 0
S	86	J	Indra			27	1	-		-	-	-	19 0
			Aś. Sa		18		-	-	1	-	1	-	5 0
"	88-90	B8 <sup>11</sup>	Indra		25	61	4	2	3	-	3	1	50 1
*	91	Epic An	Charun			80	1	1			1	-	1 8
S	92-94	G <sup>12</sup>	Indra <sup>12</sup>			235	11	15			-	-	102 7
"	95	An <sup>14</sup>	"			52	1	1			-	-	16 1
"	96	T	"		81		4	4	10	8	-	1	29 3
"	97 1-9	Brh.			9	27	-	-	-	1	1	-	15 1
	98, etc. <sup>18</sup>	Irreg. <sup>18</sup>			16	8	4	1	2	-	-	-	17 2
	99, etc. <sup>18</sup>	B8 <sup>11</sup>			26	83	11	11	4	1	4	1	61 2
*	100 -6	Tr <sup>17</sup>			24		-	1	2	1	1	2	0 3
*	101	Epic An				12	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 2
*	102	Tr	Vāc		8		-	-	1	-	-	-	3 3
*	103	Cont. Tr			4		-	-	-	-	-	1	0 1
*	104	Tr	Goanog		4		-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1
*	105		Gaul		8		-	-	-	1	-	-	0 0
	106 1-18	G	Agni			64	4	2		1	-	-	17 0
*	107 1-18					12	1	-		-	-	-	0 2
	108 1-13	Mitra <sup>11</sup>			17	32	10	0	2	2	2	-	25 0
	109 1-14	An				4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 0

60 Agni. 69 7-9 Dim. B (Dim. U<sub>2</sub> with refrain verse) \* 68 16 Tr G

69 1-3, 7-10, 12-13 An.; 16 P 7 15 B. 67 Adityah 68 14-19, 69 7 8 Din.

70 7-12 B 3-15 see § 245 H. \* 74 13-5 An. 7 72 VD; 73 Aś 74 -12

Agni, 3-13 Dānatutī. \* 77 10, B8; 78 10 B 75 Agni. \* 80 -9, 62

Ind., 83 VD 84 Agni 85 Aś. 87 Aś. (B8.). \* 89 1, 6 An., 7 B. \* 94

Tr G \* 94 Marutah. \* 95 7 T An., see § 94 viii. \* 96 1-13 U<sub>2</sub>, 4-6 Dim. U<sub>2</sub>, 7-13 Mixed 99; 101 1-13 VD (3 G 3 B) \* 100 6 J

\* 103 3 B, 4-7 B-Sat. 8-13 Kak-Sat.

## MANDALA IX

				Tr	Dīm	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu
N	Soma Pavamāna collection											
	1-4	G	Soma P	113		-	3		2	-		51 1
	5 1-7	"	Apriya	21		-	1		-	-		1 1
†	8-11	Epic An	"	16		1	-		1	-		1 3
	6-60	G <sup>1</sup>	Soma P <sup>2</sup>	1 1035		19	22		20	10		555 20
	61-67 30 <sup>3</sup>	" <sup>4</sup>	"	3 599		8	9		14	-		329 8
S	62 4-6, etc <sup>6</sup>	Tr G	"	27		1	2		-	-		16 2
*	67 31, 32	Epic An	"	8		-	-		1	2		0 4
	68, etc <sup>7</sup>	J <sup>7</sup>	Soma P	248		3	5 11		18	4 3		127 13
S	70, etc <sup>8</sup>	" <sup>8</sup>	"	116		3	4 25		6	2 -		72 8
C	80	" <sup>9</sup>	"	20		-	- -		5	- 2		13 2
	81-86	" <sup>9</sup>	"	320		8	4 21		19	6 5		187 25
	87, etc <sup>10</sup>	Tr	"	252		11	5 12		32	2 2		146 8
S	88	"	"	28		4	4 5		-	1 -		30 1
A	93, 94	"	"	40		9	4 6		4	1 -		35 0
	97 1-33, 52-56	"	"	152		5	3 7		12	2 1		103 5
C	34-51, 57, 58	"	"	80		1	- 4		18	- -		51 3
A	98-101	An <sup>11</sup>	"	2 176		11	8		3	2		110 7
"	102-106	Usnih <sup>12</sup>	"	29 91		5	10 3		1	2 1		65 1
S	107	BS <sup>13</sup>	"	38 62		4	4 4		2	6 -		63 2
A	108	KS	"	24 32		10	4 3		1	- -		30 2
S	109	Pentad <sup>14</sup>	"	43 1		2	2		2	-		29 3
"	110	Virāj <sup>15</sup>	"	33 3		1	1 4		4	1 1		25 0
A	111	Atyasti	"	9 12		2	2 -		-	1 -		12 1
*	112-114	Ep An <sup>16</sup>	"	78		2	3		3	2		7 31

<sup>1</sup> 60 3 Pur    <sup>2</sup> 58 Dān    <sup>3</sup> exc as in next line    <sup>4</sup> 67 16-18 Dvīpadā G,  
<sup>30</sup> see Ch ix, App No 14    <sup>5</sup> 67 10-12 Pūsan, 22-24 Agni, 25-27 VD    <sup>6</sup> 62 4-6,  
66 16-18, 66 19-21 (Agni)    <sup>7</sup> 68 Jt, 69 (2 fin st Tr), 72, 73, 74 (8 Tr),  
75, 77, 78    <sup>8</sup> 70, 71 Jt, 76, 79    <sup>9</sup> 81, 82 Jt, 85 11, 12 Cont Tr    <sup>10</sup> 87,  
89-92, 95, 96    <sup>11</sup> 98 11, 99 1 B, 101 2, 3 G    <sup>12</sup> 102, 106 1-3 Dīm Us  
<sup>13</sup> 107 3, 16 see Ch ix, App No 72    <sup>14</sup> 109 22 type 8 4 8    <sup>15</sup> 110 1-3  
12 8 12, 4-9 12 12 12    <sup>16</sup> with refrain borrowed from 106 4b

## MANDALA X.

					T	Pras	A	D	C	I	E	F	Libra.
	A	X 1-9	Agni collection										
S	1 G		Pentad Agni	56			5		7	1		1	21 1
C	2, 8		Tr	92			1	1	6	0	1	2	39 6
S	8			23			7		1	2			11 0
C	4 8			56			1	2	2	11	1	1	23 3
	9-15	G	Ārah Charm		18			2					4 1
*	6, 7				6								0 2
*	6, 9	Epic An.			8					1	1		0 3

\* mixed with Tri (ubh.

\* 8-9 Indra.

*	B	X 10-19	Funeral collection										
	10		T	[Yama]	56		2	2	7	3	1	2	0 28
	11		J	Agni	36		1	-	-	2	-	-	16 4
	12		Tr	Ag & VD	23		3	1	7	-	1	-	12 6
	13-15			DI	12		1	1	1	1	-	1	4 0
	4				4			-	-	-	1	-	0 8
	5	J		DP	4			-	2			1	0 0
	14-15, etc.	Cont. Tr		Pitara	243	3	6	3	3	25	4	79	14 141
	16, etc.	Epic An.			1	39	-	1			2		0 22
	19			Charm	31		-				1		1 11

\* 11-15 Tr \* 16-19 15 T ( J) 16-19, 18-19 ( Prast.) funeral hymn ;  
 17-19 ( 3 11 A. 8 8). 14-16 ( 3 Dph.) 16-19 funeral hymns; 17 4  
 18 4. 19 6 G

A	G.	X 20-26	Vimada										
	20		Tr G	Agni	7	30	1	1	-	1	-	-	11 0
	21 21 26*		An	Various	124		8	11		1			56 2
	22		U lyric	Indra	17	43	18	9	4	1	1		48 1
	23		Cont. J		24		15	2	5	1	2	1	19 0
*	24-26		Epic An.	Coanog		12	-	-					0 3

from 23 ; 9 Virāḥ 10 Tr 21 Ag 24-25 Ind. 25 Some f metre see  
 Ch. ix, App. No. 66; 26 Pūṣan. \* For metre see § 245 ; Tr

## MANĀLA X, continued

				Tr	Dlm	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu
C	D X 27-84 various small groups											
*	27	Cont Tr		96		1	-	3	1	2	5	9 30
*	28	Tr		48		-	1	-	-	-	1	13 14
N	29-32 <sup>5</sup>	" <sup>1</sup>	Various <sup>1</sup>	156		10	3	10	14	1	1	76 12
*	32 6-9	"	[Agni]	16		1	-	-	-	-	-	2 5
*	33	Mixed <sup>2</sup>		7	23	-	3	-	-	-	-	11 6
*	34	Tr <sup>3</sup>	[Akṣāh]	56		-	-	1	8	1	1	0 33
	35-38	J <sup>4</sup>	Various <sup>4</sup>	165		2	1	11	35	6	-	58 7
	39-41	J <sup>5</sup>	Asvinā	124		5	1	8	12	7	2	52 6
	42 41 <sup>6</sup>	Tr, J <sup>6</sup>	Indra	101		1	1	1	10	2	1	40 9
*	42 9-11	Tr		12		-	-	1	-	-	-	1 6
	45, 47	Tr	Ag, Indra	75		2	1	3	11	1	0	25 3
	46	Pentad <sup>7</sup>	Agni	10		-	-	4	3	-	1	27 1
A	48-50	J <sup>8</sup>	[Indra]	116		36	6	18	15	3	1	81 6
*	51-53	Cont Tr	[Agni]	104		4	1	3	23	1	10	10 35
	54-56 <sup>3</sup>	Tr	Indra <sup>9</sup>	68		1	1	3	15	-	-	11 12
λ	56 4-7	Jt		16		1	1	1	-	1	-	1 7
*	57	G	Charm		18	1	-		-	-	-	1 2
*	58	Epic An	"		21	-	-		1	-	-	0 7
*	59 1-7	Cont Tr		27		1	-	1	1	2	2	6 11
*	8-10	Ma (E) <sup>10</sup>	DP		17	2	-		-	-	-	0 2
*	60 1-6	G			19	-	-		1	-	-	2 0
*	7-12	Epic An <sup>11</sup>	Charm		27	-	1		-	3	-	0 7
A	61	Tr		108		25	3	32	4	-	2	76 7
	62	Mixed <sup>12</sup>		22	20	1	2	3	2	11	-	10 7
	63, 64	Cont J, J <sup>13</sup>	VD	132		2	1	7	12	8	-	44 6
	65, 66	Jt, Cont J	VD	116		7	3	1	10	6	1	31 6
	67, 68	Tr	I-Brhasp	96		3	-	6	12	2	1	23 14
	69, 70	" <sup>14</sup>	Agni <sup>15</sup>	92		1	1	6	23	5	-	23 8
*	71	Cont Tr	[Jūāna]	44		-	-	-	5	1	5	0 17
*	72	Epic An	Cosmog		36	-	-	-	1	2	-	0 15
A	73, 74	Ti	Indra	68		9	4	18	1	1	-	37 9
n	75, 76	Cont J, J	Various <sup>16</sup>	68		4	2	5	2	5	-	26 5
S	77 1-5, 78 1-6	Bhārgavi	Marutah	44		1	-	2	4	-	-	59 5
"	77 6-8, 78 7, 8	Tr, Jt	"	20		3	-	5	2	-	-	15 1
	79, 80	Tr	Agni	56		7	2	4	10	-	-	15 8
*	81, 82	Cont Tr	Cosmog	55	1	-	-	2	6	0	9	6 24
*	83, 84	Cont Tr	[Manyu]	56		2	2	4	6	7	-	3 17

<sup>1</sup> 29 I, 30 Apah, 31 VD, 32 1-5 I (J)<sup>2</sup> 1 Tr, 2, 3 BS, 4-9 G<sup>3</sup> 34 7 J<sup>4</sup> 35, 36 VD (2 fin st Tr), 37 1-10 Sūrya (Jt) <sup>11</sup>, <sup>12</sup> Devāh (J), 38 Indra<sup>5</sup> 39 Jt <sup>6</sup> 42 1-8 T1, 43 J, 44 1-3 Tr, 4-9 J<sup>7</sup> mixed with Tristubh<sup>8</sup> 48 7, 10, 11 Tr, 49 Jt <sup>9</sup> 56 1-3 Lament<sup>10</sup> 59 8 Pankti<sup>11</sup> 60 8, 9 P<sup>12</sup> 62 1-4, 11 Cont J, 5, 8, 9 An, 6, 7 B-Sat, 10 G<sup>13</sup> 63 2 fin st Tr, 64 <sup>12</sup> andfin st Tr <sup>14</sup> 69 1, 2 J <sup>15</sup> 70 Āpriya<sup>16</sup> 75 Sindhavah, 76 Grāvānah

# MAGNETA A continued

T I R A A O F F 1964

# E X BS 114 Single bymes

		10	11	(2.10.10)	22		3	1	1	5	5.11
		11	12	13		1	1			15	6.1
		14	15	16	17	1	1			1	6.12
		18	19	20	21	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		22	23	24	25	1	1			1	6.12
		26	27	28	29	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		86	87	88	89	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		90	91	92	93	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		94	95	96	97	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		98	99	100	101	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		102	103	104	105	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		110	111	112	113	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		114	115	116	117	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		118	119	120	121	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		122	123	124	125	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		126	127	128	129	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		130	131	132	133	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		134	135	136	137	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		138	139	140	141	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		142	143	144	145	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		146	147	148	149	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		150	151	152	153	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		162	163	164	165	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		166	167	168	169	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		170	171	172	173	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		182	183	184	185	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		190	191	192	193	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		194	195	196	197	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		198	199	200	201	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		222	223	224	225	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		226	227	228	229	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		230	231	232	233	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		234	235	236	237	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		238	239	240	241	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		242	243	244	245	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		246	247	248	249	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		250	251	252	253	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		254	255	256	257	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		258	259	260	261	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		262	263	264	265	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		266	267	268	269	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		270	271	272	273	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		274	275	276	277	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		278	279	280	281	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		282	283	284	285	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		286	287	288	289	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		290	291	292	293	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		294	295	296	297	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		298	299	300	301	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		302	303	304	305	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		306	307	308	309	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		310	311	312	313	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		314	315	316	317	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		318	319	320	321	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		322	323	324	325	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		326	327	328	329	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		330	331	332	333	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		334	335	336	337	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		338	339	340	341	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		342	343	344	345	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		346	347	348	349	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		350	351	352	353	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		354	355	356	357	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		358	359	360	361	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		362	363	364	365	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		366	367	368	369	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		370	371	372	373	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		374	375	376	377	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		378	379	380	381	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		382	383	384	385	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		386	387	388	389	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		390	391	392	393	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		394	395	396	397	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		398	399	400	401	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		402	403	404	405	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		406	407	408	409	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		410	411	412	413	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		414	415	416	417	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		418	419	420	421	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		422	423	424	425	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		426	427	428	429	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		430	431	432	433	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		434	435	436	437	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		438	439	440	441	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		442	443	444	445	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		446	447	448	449	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		450	451	452	453	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		454	455	456	457	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		458	459	460	461	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		462	463	464	465	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		466	467	468	469	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		470	471	472	473	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		474	475	476	477	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		482	483	484	485	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		486	487	488	489	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		490	491	492	493	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		494	495	496	497	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		498	499	500	501	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		502	503	504	505	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		506	507	508	509	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		510	511	512	513	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		514	515	516	517	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		518	519	520	521	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		522	523	524	525	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		526	527	528	529	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		530	531	532	533	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
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		538	539	540	541	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		542	543	544	545	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		546	547	548	549	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		550	551	552	553	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		554	555	556	557	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		558	559	560	561	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		562	563	564	565	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		566	567	568	569	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		570	571	572	573	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		574	575	576	577	1	1	1	1	1	6.12
		578	579	580	581	1	1	1	1	1	6



## MANDALA X, continued

				Tr	Dim	A	B	C	D	E	F	Lingu
*	F	X 115-191	Single									
		hymns, continued										
A	115	Cont J <sup>1</sup>	Agni	37		8	3	13	2	2	-	32 0
C	116, 122, 123	Tr <sup>2</sup>	Various <sup>2</sup>	100		3	4	8	11	6	5	53 7
	117, etc <sup>3</sup>	Cont Tr		160		3	2	5	16	5	20	5 75
C	118, etc <sup>4</sup>	G	Various <sup>4</sup>		87	1	3			3	1	20 7
	119, etc <sup>5</sup>	"	" <sup>5</sup>		104	7	8	-		3	1	5 22
	120, 121	Tr	Indra <sup>6</sup>	70		7	6	9	3	-	5	10 22
	124 <sup>1-5</sup>	"	[I-Agni]	20		-	-	1	1	1	1	0 4
N	6-8	" <sup>7</sup>	[Vrtra]	12		-	1	2	-	-	-	5 0
	9	"	[Hamsa]	4		-	-	-	-	1	-	0 0
A	126 <sup>1-7</sup>	Upai <sup>8</sup>	MVA	1	27	2	6		-	1	-	3 0
N	8	Tr	Agni	4		-	1	1	-	-	-	2 2
	131	" <sup>9</sup>	Indra	24	4	-	-	-	2	1	-	9 2
A	132	Un lyric <sup>10</sup>	MV	17	11	4	3	6	2	1	-	17 4
S	133, 134	Mahāp <sup>11</sup>	Indra <sup>11</sup>	4	68	3	6	1	-	-	-	19 2
	135, etc <sup>12</sup>	Ep An <sup>13</sup>		8	410	2	4	1	2	12	12	7 245
C	138	J	Indra	24		-	-	1	-	4	-	14 4
	139, etc <sup>14</sup>	Cont Tr <sup>14</sup>	Various <sup>14</sup>	243	9	13	2	6	19	6	18	29 102
S	140, 150, 172	Lyric <sup>15</sup>	Agni <sup>16</sup>	26	26	2	2	4	4	-	1	23 0
	141	An	VD	24		-	2			1	1	3 3
A	143	An	Aśvinā	24		1	3		-	-	-	15 0
	144	Mixed <sup>17</sup>	Indra	6	14	3	5	1	1	-	-	12 0
N	147, 160	Jt, Tr	"	40		2	2	1	4	-	-	25 2
A	148	Tr	"	20		8	2	2	3	1	0	18 0
C	176	An <sup>18</sup>	Agni <sup>19</sup>		15	1	2		-	-	-	9 1
	178	Tr	Tārksya	12		-	-	1	4	1	-	4 0
S	185	Tr G	MVA		9	2	1		-	-	-	1 0

<sup>1</sup> 115, 2 fin st Tr      <sup>2</sup> 116 Ind, 122 Agni (Cont J), 123 Vena      <sup>3</sup> 117, 125, 128-130      <sup>4</sup> 118 A Raks, 127 Ūrmyā, 156 Agni, 171 Indra, 188 A. Jāt  
<sup>5</sup> 119, 153 Indra, 158 Sūrya-Savitar, 175 Grāvānah (1 Tr G), 186 Vāta, 187 Agni, 189      <sup>6</sup> 121 Prajāpati      <sup>7</sup> 124 7 J      <sup>8</sup> see Ch ix, App No 54  
<sup>9</sup> 131 4 An      <sup>10</sup> see § 242 vi      <sup>11</sup> 133 1-3, see Ch ix, App No 76, 7 Tr, 134 7 P (Devāh)      <sup>12</sup> 135-137, 142 7, 8, 145, 146, 151, 152 (Ind) An, 154, 155, 159, 162, 163, 164, 166, 173, 174, 184, 190, 191      <sup>13</sup> 164 3, 191 3 Tr  
<sup>14</sup> 139 1-3 Sūrya, 139 4-6, 142 1-6 Agni, 149 Sav, 157 VD (Dvip Tr, 1 11 8), 161 Charm (5 Epic An), 165 Kapota, 167 Indra (J), 168 Vāta, 169 Osadhīh, 170 Vibhrāt (J 4 see Ch ix, App No 27), 177 Patamga, 179 Indra (1 Epic An), 180 Indra, 181, 182 Agni and Brhaspati, 183 Charm      <sup>15</sup> 140 3-5 Sat, 150 1-3 Br for the other stanzas see Ch ix, App Nos 6 (172 3), 8 (172 1, 2, 4), 31 (140 1, 2), 47 (140 6, 150 4, 5)      <sup>16</sup> 172 Usas      <sup>17</sup> 144 1, 3, 4 G, 2 B, 5 No 47 as above, 6 No 31      <sup>18</sup> 176 2 G      <sup>19</sup> 176 1 Rbhavah

Hymns in this section for which no deity is named are for the most part either charms or philosophical poems

## CHAPTER VI

### METRICAL COMMENTARY

#### 287 INTRODUCTORY NOTES

The Metrical Commentary does not form a complete record of the restorations required in the *Saṁhitā* text, and only notices those metrical irregularities which are very exceptional.

In particular the following restorations are very commonly required in addition to those mentioned in the Commentary

*Hiatus* whether regular as after *i* *ī* *u*, *ū* or exceptional as after *-a*, *-ā*.

*Combination of final -a, -ā with initial r* (text *-a r*).

*Syllabic restoration* (i) of *i* *ī* for *y* *r* followed by the grave accent (ii) of *i* for *y* in the instr. sing. *yī* and the dual form *yā* after heavy syllables in the suffixes *ya* *yī* after heavy syllables in the words *gūhya*, *jānya* *tyā*, *darhyāde* *diryā*, *ulrya*, *pratyāde*, *mādyā*, *yijya*, *akhyā* *syā* and some others in the optatives *aiyām* and *aiyā* and in the suffixes *-āyā* *-āyām* after heavy syllables at the end of the verse (iii) of *u* for *v* in *tvām*, *tvā*, *tvā*, *tvā*, *svā* and in the instr. sing. fem. in *-vā* (iv) of *aa* for *ā* in the gen. pl. *-ām* at the end of the verse (v) of *-an* for *a* in the declension of nouns in *-an* *man*, *van* and (vi) of *or* for *r* in the dual forms *pitrā*, *mātṛā*, *svasrā*.

*Quantitative restoration* (i) in the words correctly written *dehā*, *ośā*, *nṛpā*, *parā*, *mā* (*māyā* *māyā*, *sumāyā*) (ii) in final vowels in positions which are metrically unimportant as in the third and fifth syllables of trimeter verse, before consonant groups, and at the end of the verse (iii) of *ośā* for *ośā* in Aufrecht's text (iv) of *o* for *ā* in compounds as *puru-āndrā* *su-āndrā* (v) of *u* for *ū* in the locative and vocative singular.

Where the text gives a correct reading this is not usually noted in the Commentary even though restoration is required by the ordinary rules as when the suffix *-ya* has monosyllabic value after a heavy syllable.

Emendations suggested in the Commentary are not intended as definitive proposals, but only as indications of the general requirements of the metre in accordance with the period to which the hymn is assigned.

The following slight corrections are needed in Aufrecht's text of the R̥gveda (2nd edition, Bonn 1877) 1x 47 2b *dasjyutáíhanā*, 86 35c *mádhṛā*, x 4 5d *pranáyanta*, 6 2a *bhānūbhṛ*, 8' 3c *ásvabudhṇā*, 51 1c *bahudhā*, 106 2d *mahshéṇāvapānūt*, 143 3a *daṇṣissthāṇ*

References are given throughout the Commentary to the sections of this book in which the points raised have already been discussed, except as regards some of the more common restorations, for which the references are given in the Index.

## 268 METRICAL COMMENTARY

### Mandala I

**A I 1-11** [Dimeter hymns of the normal or strophic period, irregularly arranged 10 is addressed to Indra of the *Kuśhla* family, and the metre corresponds fairly with that of the dimeter hymns of Mandala III]

1 9c *sácasva* 2 4a *indrā-*, 8, 9 perhaps in Trochaic Gāyatrī yet we may read in 8a *mītra varuna* (cf §174 ii), in 8c *āsathe* (§170 i), and in 9c *dadhāta* (§174 i e) 3 1c *pūū-*, §166 iv 4 7c see §152 ii 6 5a *vīlū* neut pl, cf. i 71 2a 10 3b *-prāū*, 7a perhaps *suvi-*, §167 i, 8d *asmābhya*

**B I 12-23** [Gāyatrī hymns of a very regular type, not earlier than the normal period *Kanāh* 14 2a]

12 5b *smā* 14 3a *indrā*, 3b either *mītrām agnīm* with irregular Sandhi (§130 iv) as in Latin, or *mītrāgnī* as a compound 15 6b *mītra varuna* §174 ii, 6c *āsathe*, 12a *santia* the statement in §137 is to be deleted 17 3b and elsewhere *india varuna*, see §174 ii 18 1a correction is needed, e.g. to *sómānaam súanaram* or *somavāham su-ārasam* 20 3a probably *nāsatiābhūm* 22 19c *yujra* 23 2b, 3a *indrā-*, 15a *utá*, \*18c *kārtuam*, \*19a probably non-metrical, cf. vii 66 16a, \*21c *jíók*

**C I 24-30** [Dimeter hymns of the strophic period Later additions appear both at the beginning and towards the end of the series]

\*24 For the date see §88, 12c *áhuat*, 12d *sá*, 13a *áhuat*, 15c perhaps *aaditya*, §150 extended Tristubh verse, or read *te* for *táva* 25 6a *āstate*, 12a *visváha* 26 1a *vásisva*, 9b see §152 ii 27 3c *pāhī* 28 6a *smā*, 7c *hāṛiva* with Sandhi 30 4a *ū*, 14a *ghā tuṭvān*, 17a *ásvavatrā*, 21b *ū ántād* perhaps *parākhāt*, §151 i

**D I 31-35** [Trimeter hymns of the cretic period but 33 in its metrical character is of the strophic or normal period]

31 18d *sumatī*, §139 iii 33 9a a 'double rest' (§226 iv) is hardly probable in this hymn perhaps add *tvām* at the end of the verse 14a, 14c Vñātsthānā verses, 14a perhaps *yāsmi*, 15c *jíók*

84. 1c *himsā* 4b *trayukhā* 7c *rakhā* 9d *nansatyā* 35 6b, see § 178 8b *dhānuā* § 147 *trīṣṭubh* *dhānuā* would be more regular 9d the hybrid Trīṣṭubh verse invites correction, as by reading *d* for *ā* *ākhā*.

EF I 38-50 [Two typical *hanva* collections but both from the form and the contents a still earlier date is suggested for the first hymn.]

36 1c perhaps read *etecobhir imah su uktāḥ*, as a Vāṁśīlī verse 4c *at* 8c Bhārgavī verse perhaps read *vijai kalya abhurat* 10c 11a *matkhutukā* or *matkya-atikā*? 12a perhaps needs correction 12c *rūtiā* 15a *pāki* 17c, see § 159 ii.

37 13a *ylanti* 14c *ultra ā* 15c *dyu*. 38. 2c *lā* § 161 iii 3c *kā* 14. 4b *māritūśah* 14. 6a *mā ā ā* 39 3c perhaps needs correction 5c *prā* 6a *ūpa* 6c perhaps *āsurat*. 40 1b *tud* 6a *rocema* 7c *dāhūā* 8d *nd* not with hiatus, which is rare. 41. 1b probably *-asya* with hiatus, though the reading *triamadh* is metrically more convenient. 42. 9c *amā* 6b *nā* see § 168 ii. 43. 4a *pāthā* § 166 ii 6c *ndribhāḥ* § 170 iii. 44. 6c *dyu* 45 1b *dātūā* 5d *tud* 10b *yākrā* 46 1a *cā*, 9c perhaps *caśā* § 166 iv 6c *vāśāḥ* 10a *bā* n for *bhā* the repetition of the particle *n* is impossible 13c *amāku* is probable, § 164 i. 47 9a *ndatā*. 48. 1d *dātānā* 3a *nechā*, though against the metre 3c *amā* is doubtful being against the rhythm 4a Bhārgavī verse, requiring correction perhaps *prā yā ulā* 4d *ndā* plural 9c *amābhya*, 10d *trūkh* 11a *vāśā* 12a *rakā* 16b *mumikrā*. \*50 13c *mdhyān*, not *mdhya* for the rhythm cf. 10a.

G I 51-57 [Of these hymns 51-54 are metrically akin to the Kutsa series i 94-115 55-57 to the Gotama series i 74-93]

51. 2b *dyta ā* may be the negative particle, § 16, iv 6d *erā* 8c *dhātā* 14b *dātā*. 52. 7c *yāyā*. 53. 2c *pradāto kāmā* 5c *prāmatā*, § 139 iii 5d *ātravatyā*, § 168 ii 7c *ākhā* 9a *dūā* 10a perhaps *utā* for *ābhā*. 54. 11b *janāyā*, § 166 vii 11d *su-apātyā*. 56 2a *nemāpā* 4a *yādā*. 57 4b *ārdhāyā*.

H I 58-64. [The Gotama Nodhas hymns appear to be as early as any in the Rīgveda the refrain marks out i 59 as a later addition, and connects viii 80 and ix 93 see § 106 i. For the peculiar metre of i 61 see § 260 iii.]

58. 9b, 4c *trā*, § 160 i, 173 iii 6d *ātrataḥ*, cf. i 146 1c 6a *tud* 8d Virāṭathānā verse. 59 4a requires correction, the metre being in disorder and the verb wanting probably *bhātrā* with Sandhi 7a *māhā*, § 178. 60 1b Virāṭathānā verse.

61 2b the verse is disordered, the true type being found in 3b *bādhā* cannot stand 8a probably Virāṭathānā verse 10a *erā* 10c *gāhā*, § 142 ii 11a Jagatī cadence perhaps *ūpā* should be restored 11d Virāṭathānā verse 19c *pāśā*, § 142 ii 15b Gautamī verse rather than Pentad perhaps *śāśā* 15c probably *ādyā* (Virāṭathānā verse) 16a *harayojanā*, § 166 i, cf. i 62 13b

62 3a Rest at the fourth place, 5c *bhūmyāh*, 8c Pentad verse, but possibly Gautamī, 12a *evā* 63 4a irregular cadence, § 220 v, 5b perhaps *mārtiānām*, § 151 m, 5c *kāṣṭhaah*, § 142 i, 7c perhaps *sudaāse*, § 142 v, 8c *asmābhya*, 8d *viśvādā* 64. 9a Rest at the fourth place, 15a *nū ā*, § 124

**K I 65–73** [The Pentad hymns 65–70 shew a very regular rhythm, and cannot be earlier than the strophic period. The text is rather imperfect, and needs correction where it conflicts with the standard metre. Hymns 71–73 are in very regular Tristubh, probably of the normal period.]

65 9a perhaps *śvāsūti*, § 178, 10b the long 9th syllable marks the full development of this metre, § 249 u. 66 9a *carāthā* requires correction, § 178. 67 2b read *havirvāt*, cf. 1 72 7d, 5a *ksāam*, *prthvīm*, 5b *dyaām*, 9b Tristubh verse, 10b *sammāyā*, cf. § 158 m. at least there is no other example of a gerund in -ya in the R̥gveda proper. 68 2d Virātsthānā verse or read *devānām devāh*, 4b perhaps *āmartam*, cf. v 33 6b. 69 8a probably read *yād dhān*, 8b *vivēr āpāñsi*, cf. vi 31 3d. 70 3b *cāratām*, cf. § 178, 4d *'mrtāh*, 5b *su-uktaih*, 7b *cāratāh*, cf. i 58 5d, 10a read *purutā nārah*, 10b perhaps read *vēdo vi babhruh*, cf. m 1 10a.

71 2a *vīlū* plural, 4b Virātsthānā verse, 4c *sāhyase*, § 151 m, 9b perhaps *sūura* or *sūria*, more probably Virātsthānā verse see § 151 i. 72 8d *yēna nū* 73 1c *siona*, *prnānāh*, 6b *sumādūdhnih*, § 151 m, 8a *mārtiān*, 1b, 9b *vanuyāma*, *tuōtāh* rather than *tvā-ūtāh*.

**L I 74–93** [Gotama collection the hymns appear to be generally of the strophic period, 80–82, 91–93 being perhaps later. The collection is characterized by the comparative frequency of Jagatī and Pankti verse. See § 106 u.]

74. 8c *asthaat* 76 1d Rest at the fifth place *dasema*, § 178, 2b, 3a *sū*, 3c *vahā* 77 2c *mārtiāya*, giving Virātsthānā verse, 2d *ca*, § 175 u, 3a *māria*, § 151 u, 3b Virātsthānā verse, 4a *nīnāam*, 5a *evā*, cf. *evām* v 6 10a, 5b Gautamī verse. 79 1c Rest at the fifth place, 5c *asmābhya* 80 3a *prēhī*, § 173 i, 7b *vayri*, § 178, 15a *nahī nū*, 16b *dadhrān* 81 6c *asmābhya*, 7c *gībhāyā* 82 1a *ūpa sū*, *śrnuhī* as in text, 3a *tuā* 83 4b *sāmaā*, 6b Bhārgavī verse, needing correction. 84. 6a *tuāt*, 6c *tuā*, 11b *śrinanti*, \*16–18, see § 88, \*18b *yajātar* is a very late form, 20b *canā*, § 175 u. 85 5c *santi*, 7b *ā nākam*, 9c *nāri' āpāñsi*, 10d *rāna*, 12a *sāmā*, 12d *dhattā* 86 9b *lantā* 87 2a *ācidhuam*, § 151 u, 4b *āvrtah*, see on i 51 2b, 6c *vāśmantah*, see § 168 u.

88 For the metre, see § 244 i, 1b hypersyllabic verse, § 224, 1d verse with double Rest, § 226 iv a, 2c requires emendation, but see § 226 iv b, 3c Rest at the fifth place. 89 4b Rest at the fourth place *draūh*, 6a *suastī*, 6a, 6b Virātsthānā verses, 6c probably *tāksīō 'rista*, 9a *nū*, 9b *yātrā*, 9d *āyu*.

90 2d *viśvāhā*, \*9 cf. \*vii 35. 91 11a *tuā*, 16–18 form one hymn, as indicated by the use of the verb *ā pyā* in each stanza, 23b *sahāvan* § 151 m. 92 3d *āhā*, 4d *avar*, § 169 vi, 7a *bhaśvatī*,

*netarī* 140 *et nech* \*93 1-3 for the metre see note on p. 167 for the date see § 88

M. I 94-115 [This collection stands alone in the R̥gveda for the frequency of the cretic break but 111 does not share this peculiarity 100 is of the same type as i 24 and presupposes a dramatic setting it is possible that some of the fragments are of earlier date.]

94. 6a *ir̥cīyā* *ir̥cīyā* in a probable correction 100 ad 95 4a *nyat* § 101 ii. \*97 8a *indhum* ca.

100 1b *pr̥thivī* 5a *rudard* § 149 ii 5b catalectic Bhārgavi verse, § 227 iii b probably to be corrected see also § 109 iii 6b seems to require correction 8c *et* irregular cadence 16b Rest at the fifth place or read *nyatye* § 139 i *par̥śvāyā* § 151 ii 17c *pr̥śvāyā*, § 145 ii b 18b *śrū* 19a *śrū*

102. 3d *ir̥cīyā* 7d *adha* 103 5b *dhātānā* 5c, 5d *et*

104. 1b Pentad verse 1c *acāryā* final *-i* shortened before following vowel 2a probably Virāṭhānā verse (*indra* type) 2c *ddāyā*, § 151 i 4c Rest at the fourth place 5b *id* as combined, § 123 6a *et* 6b *bhāyā* 8a *as* 2a 9a *tu* 9d *śrū*

105 2a *et* *u*, § 171 v (to be added) 2d *par̥śvāyā* 5a heptasyllabic verse 7a *et* 7c *śrū* 9b *adha* 16d *śrū* 16a Epio semi-cadence 18c *nyatye* 108. 9b *bhāyā* 108. 4b *et* 4d *et* with hiatus 109 2b *śrū* 5b *śrū*, § 108 i 110 2d *ignechatā* 6a Triṣṭubh cadence *et* 7a 9b hybrid verse, unless we read *śrū* *śrū*.

111 3a *śrū*? 112. 10b Bhārgavi verse, probably needing correction, as to *dyt* *et*, cf. 17b 19b *ghā* 113 2a *śrū* 4a *bhāyā* *netarī* 13b *arā* 16a *śrū* 100 *nech* 10d *janayā* 114. 2a *dyt* § 176 3b *śrū* 4a *śrū* § 149 ii 5d *śrū*, 6b, 8c *as* 4a, 11b irregular break. 115 9c *ghā*.

N I 116-120. [These hymns are very slightly connected by references to the *dyt* family and differ greatly in metre see § 100 v The first two hymns, and to a slighter extent 118 and 119 stand alone in the R̥gveda in the regular use of iambic and cretic variations at the break side by side see § 110 iv The remaining hymns correspond generally to the types of the periods to which they are respectively assigned in the Table of hymns.]

116 2c *nyatye* here and frequently the final vowel being often combined by Sandhi with the initial vowel of a word following 6b *ghāyā* § 145 ii b 10c *dyt* 14c *ad* 16b *pr̥śvāyā* 117 1b 1c Virāṭhānā verses 2d *śrū* 4c long ninth syllable, easily corrected by interchanging *śrū* and *ad* 14d *par̥śvāyā*, § 151 ii 18c *pr̥śvāyā* 2c catalectic Bhārgavi verse correction is probably required 23d *śrū* 118. 7a Sandhi at *śrū*, § 214 iii, 119 1b *śrū*, § 145 ii b.

120. Both the text and the metre of stanzas 1-9 require emendation on a large scale see § 244 ii. \*10-19 The most modern passage in the R̥gveda, recording the poet's gratitude for the gift of a

motor-car (*rāṭha anaśvā*) the extreme regularity of the metre is in striking contrast to the preceding stanzas see also § 88

121 1a *pāṭanam* is possible, § 149 iii, 5c probably *Virātsthānā* verse, but see § 149 iv, 6c the same, 7a *su-udhmā*, 7d *paśu-ise*, 8a *hārīhā*, dual with Sandhi, § 128 ii, 8c irregular cadence, 8d *vaatūpyam*, § 151 i, 13c *prāsyā* (gerund), 15a probably *dāsīt*, § 178, 15c *bhagā*

122 1a *pāntam*, § 142 iii a, 3a catalectic *Bhārgavī* verse, § 227 iii b, 3b probably *apāam*, 4c the same, 4d *Virātsthānā* verse, 5c the verse may be completed by interpreting *ām* as an abbreviation for *ā voceya*, 6c Rest at the fourth place, 6d supply *śrōtu nah* at the beginning of the verse, 8c *payrēbhrah* probably, 8d *māhya*, 9d *hōtarābhrah* is possible, § 149 iii, 10b *narāam* irregular cadence, 10d perhaps *sūrah*, § 151 i, 11a irregular cadence, 12a *Virātsthānā* verse, 12c irregular cadence, 13c *istā-aśvā* or *istāśua*, cf § 145 ii b, 15c irregular cadence, 15d *sūrah*, § 151 i

123 8a *adyā*, 12d *nāmā*, 13c *adyā* 124 4a *ūpa*, 5c *ū*, 8a *jyāyasyar* has probably replaced an older form *jyāyase* which served also as the feminine cf *durvāsase* vii 1 19a, 8b *cākṣā*, 10c *ucchā*, 13a *āstodhuam* 125 3a *adyā*, 3c *pāyayā*, 3d *vardhayā* 126 4b *śāyīnam*, \*6a hypersyllabic dimeter verse, 6c *māhyam*, cf \*1 50 13c

O I 127-139 [These hymns, outwardly similar, are very different in their internal structure 127 and 129 are of very archaic character on the other hand 136-139 are very regular The later hymns are also marked by metres in which the dimeter verses greatly preponderate, and by occasional Bīhatī and Tristubh verses The authorship is not known See further § 201 ii]

127 See § 242 i, 1a *dāsuanam*, catalectic verse, 1f hypersyllabic opening, which requires correction, § 217 perhaps *bhrājāni* for *vībhāstam*, cf. ix 98 3d, 2b *jyāyastham* caesura after third syllable, 2d *dyāam*, 3b Rest at the fifth place, 3e *vānam* 'va, 4b *arānī* as plural is probable, see § 219, 5e *vīlā*, *sārmā* plural, 6c *ā art-*, 6g, 6h *pāntham*, 7a extended *Virātsthānā* verse, 8b *sārvāsaam*, 9a, 10a as 3b, 10d catalectic verse, 11e probably catalectic verse 128 2g *bhadr*, § 151 i, 5e *vāsūnaam*, 7f, 7g catalectic verses, 8a *vāsūdhriti* probably, § 166 iv

129 See § 242 i, 1a *Virātsthānā* verse (*indra* type), 1f omit *anavadya* and read as *Virātsthānā* verse, 2a *śrudhī*, 3d *tūbhya*, 4b *visvā-āyum*, 5a *namā*, 5d *nāyisi*, § 142 iii b, 5f, 5g catalectic verses, 6a *bhāvra*, § 151 ii, 6d *sā*, 7a *Virātsthānā* verse rather than *hōtarayā*, 7e *ā im*, 8a *prā-pra*, § 175 ii catalectic verse, 8d, 8e probably catalectic verses, 8f a trimeter verse should be restored, 9a perhaps *vayīnā*, § 139 i, 9b *yāhī*, 9f *Bhārgavī* verse, probably requiring emendation, § 227 ii b, 10a perhaps *vayīnā*, 11a *pāhī*, verse with double Rest, § 226 iv a, 11g read *tuā* and omit *jīyanat*, § 152 i

130 1d *tuā*, 2a *Virātsthānā* verse (*indra* type) *svānām*, § 140 iii, 3b *vayāh*, § 151 i, 4b, 4c *śat*, 4d *vivānā*, 6a *vasuyāntah*, § 168 iii, 10c Pentad verse, § 227 i b, 10d probably *āhabrah* Rest at fifth place 131 3b *gāvra*, § 151 ii, 6a *utā*, 6f *Virātsthānā* verse, 6g *śrudhī*, 7d *jahī* 132 1b *sasahyāma*, § 169 iii, 2b two syllables are wanting, 6d, 6e catalectic verses





\*164. 7a *u*, § 178, 13d *evā*, 16c as 7a, 17a, 23d hybrid verses in 23d perhaps omit *it*, 32a *sā*, 35b Rest at the fifth place, 38c perhaps *visu-añcā*, § 166 iv, 40c *addhī*, 40d *pibā*, 45d hybrid verse, 48c Rest at the fifth place

Q I 165-190 Māna collection [One of the most homogeneous collections in the Rigveda but 173, 174, 186 have the archaic character more strongly marked than the rest of the hymns. The late hymns 170, 179 have found their way into this collection in consequence of its ascription to Agastya. See § 106 iii]

165 3a Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type), 6a *svadhā* (final *-ā* shortened before following vowel) but *āsīt* is a very doubtful form in this hymn, and more probably we should read *svā* and then *svadhā āh*, 7a *bhūrī* (plur.), 8d *caharā*, § 158 i, 10b *nū*, 11b *srūtra cakrā*, 12c *-caksrā*, 13b *yōtanā*, 13d *bhūtā*, 14b Virātsthānā verse, 14c *varitta*, 15c a dative *vayāyā* seems required. 166 1c *ardhē 'va*, Bollensen O and O ii 473, 1d *yudhē 'va* ib, 12d *arādhuam*, 13b *purūśāmśa* appears to be a proper name, § 160 i. 167 1a Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type), 1b hybrid verse, 1c Rest at the fourth place *vayāyah*, § 139 i, 2b *bṛhādvārā*, § 178, 2c *ādihā yād*, 4a *ayāsah* § 151 i and *yavīyā* § 173 ii are doubtful, 6c Rest at the fifth place, 7b Rest at the fourth place, 8a *pañtr*, 8b *anyamā*, 9a *nahī nū*, 10a *adyā māyistha*, Virātsthānā verse, 10b *svāh*, 10d *narām*

168 1b omit *u*, giving a catalectic verse, 1c *śodasoh*, cf. ix 22 5a, 2c *apām*, 3a *tiplā-añsavah*, 5c *dhannu-cyūtah*, § 147 *śāam*, 6b *āyayā*, 6c *cyāvayathā*. 169 1c *marūtaum*, 2c Rest at the fourth place, 4c *cākānanta*, § 169 iii, 5b Virātsthānā verse but see § 142 iii b, 5c *śū*, 5d *gātūyantr*, § 168 iii, 6c *ādihā* hybrid verse. \*170 1a *svāh*, 4a catalectic verse

171 1d *dhattā*, 6a *sāhyasah* is probable. 172 1a catalectic verse, 3a *nū*, 3b *vinktā*. 173 2c catalectic Bhūgavī verse, § 227 iii b, 3a *sadmā*, 4a requires correction, § 225, 4c double Rest, § 226 iv b, 4d Virātsthānā verse, 5b probably Rest at the fourth place, but see § 151 i, 7c irregular cadence the resolution of *o* in *ksorih* is very doubtful, but see § 151 i, 8c *bhuut*, 8d *yādī*, 9b *narām*, 11a Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type), 11c perhaps *tatī sādā*, § 169 iii, 12b *arayāyah*, § 151 iii after Th. Benfey, 12c perhaps *yavīyā*, § 173 ii.

174 1a Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type), 2c Rest at the fifth place *anaradya ārnāh*, 3b *dyām* or *diām*, 3d Pentad verse, or read *duma ā*, 4a *nū* perhaps *sāsmi*, § 178, 5a *vāhā*, 5b *vāatasya āsvā*, 6a double Rest, § 226 iv a *matrā-irūn* Grassmann but emendation is rather required, 7b *ksām*, 8c Rest at the fifth place, 9b Virātsthānā verse, 9d caesura after the third syllable, 10a *vām*, 10b, 10c perhaps Pentad verses otherwise *narām*, *spīdhām*. 175 4c *vāhā* catalectic verse, 1d *vāatasya āsvārā*, § 151 ii, or perhaps *vāatasya āsvārā* with long fifth syllable, 6b *māyo 'va*. 176 3b *ksitindām*, 5c catalectic verse

177 2c, 3a *tisthā*, 4a *devayā 'yóm* with Sandhi, § 130 ii, 4d *ksādīyā hārīhā* with Sandhi, § 128 ii, 5a *sūstutah* (nom.) is probable. 178 1c Rest at the fifth place, 5c *nī*

180 3c Rest at the fourth place, 4a extended Tristubh verse, 5b perhaps *gārāh*, § 142 ii, cf. i 181 8d, 6c Rest at the fifth place



11 For the metre see § 250 i, 1d, 2b Tristubh verses, 2c perhaps *āmantam*, 3a *it* should probably be omitted *nū*, 3b *rudhīyeṣu ca* requires emendation, the omission of *ca* being the first step, 4c probably omit *indra*, 5c *utā tastambhūāmsam*, § 145 ii c, 6a as 4c, 6b *śāwā*, § 151 iii, 7b *asvarīṣṭām*, § 151 iii, 7d Rest at the fourth place, 8d Tristubh verse, 9d, 10b Tristubh openings, 10d Rest at the fifth place, 12b Tristubh verse, 13c as 9d, 15a *vyāntu in nū*, 15c double Rest, 17a omit *it*, 17b as 9d, 17c *pinānā*, 17d *yāhī* Pentad verse, 19a, 20a as 9d, 21 concluding verse borrowed from ii 19

12 4c *jigvān*, § 178, 5c *sū 'ryāh*, 5d *dhattā*, 7c *usāsam*, § 170 ii a 13 1a *tāsūh*, § 146 i, 4b *rayām 'va*, 8d *adyā*, 9a *ā 'drah*, § 145 iii, 13a *vasu*, § 170 ii f, 13b *vasavyām*, § 135 The last stanza properly belongs to 14 14 1d *juhōtā*, 2b *aśānī 'va*, § 139 iii, 2c *bharatā*, 3d *ū nutā*, 5b, 5c Rests at the fourth place, 11b *ksāmra* 15 5c *utsāyā*, 7a Rest at the fourth place 16 5a catalectic verse 17 5d secondary caesura, § 213 ii *dyām*, 6c perhaps *sayādhrar*, § 146 ii, 6d on *āvraṇ* see § 169 vi, 8d *kīdhī* 18 1a perhaps read *nāva ayogī*, 2b *utā trūṭyam*, 2d *sā* The cadence is probably, but not certainly, that of Jagatī, cf i 140 2c, 3c *mā sū*, 4a *duābhīyam*, 5b hypersyllabic opening, § 217, 5d *ā sastrā*, 5d, 6a perhaps *saptatī*, *navatī*, cf § 139 iii, 7c *vihāva*, 8c *jyāyṣṭhe*, 8d *jigvān*, § 178

19 1b *svānāya*, § 140 iii Virātsthānā verse, 3a Virātsthānā verse (*indira* type), 3d perhaps *āhnaam*, 4a *sā*, 5a requires emendation, 5b probably *sātvā*, § 178, 7b perhaps *śavasiā*, § 151 ii 20 1a *sū*, 1c *dīdhīatah*, 1d no caesura, § 214, 2a Rest at the fourth place, if we read *tuābhīh* but more probably a double Rest, cf § 226 iv, 2b *-pāh asī* with Sandhi, § 130 ii, 2c Virātsthānā verse, 2d Rest at the fourth place, 3a double Rest of an irregular type, § 227 iii c, 3b *naiām*, 5a *sā*, 5c *usāsah*, § 170 ii, 5c *sātvā*, § 178 6d Virātsthānā verse, 7b *dāasīh* (§ 151 i) is here unlikely, 8a *tavasyām*, a change of accent is probably required, § 135, 8b Gautamī verse, 8d *hatvī* is suspicious in so early a hymn by restoring *ghnān* the metre becomes correct but see §§ 130 i, 219 22 For the metre see Ch ix, App Nos 87, 79 and 84

23 2a *asurīya*, 7b *mārtah*, § 151 iii, 8a *tanānaam*, 9b *vāsū* (plur), 13a catalectic verse, 14c *kīsvū* 24 4a *āsmāsam*, 5a *bhāvītūā*, 5b perhaps insert *vi* before *dūrah*, 6d *ū*, 14b *kārmā*, probably plural 25 3a *śimvān*, 5b *śāmā* 26 2a *vihī*, 4a *āvīdhat*, § 169 vi, 4c *vāksatī*, § 175 i 27 4c *asuryām*, § 135, 6c probably *ādītiāh*, 10c *vāsvā*, 13a *suyāvasa*, 15d *sādhū*, with *-ū* of dual shortened before a vowel, § 174 i c, 16d the verse seems to require rearrangement, as *uāiv āvīstāh śāman ā sāmā* 28 6a *āpa sū bhīyāsam*, § 151 iii, 7b *bhrināntī* 29 1a *āadhtyāh*, 5a *nimayā*

30 1c *yaati*, § 142 iii a, 5a *kṣipā*, 9b *abhakhyāyā*, 10b *vīryā* (*y*, cons), § 135 a, 10c *jīh*, 11d *srūtiā* 31 1d *hīṣvant*, 4c *bīhadhvā*, 5b *apīyā*, see § 167 v, 5c *mithvī*, 7c irregular double Rest (§ 227 iii c) requiring emendation 32 1d *vasuyā*, § 168 iii, \*5b, \*5d catalectic verses, \*7c *vispātīar*

33 1d here and often *rudarā*, a form probably invented by the poet, see § 149 ii, 4c *arpayā*, 7d *abhī nū*, 8c for the caesura see § 213 ii, 9d *asuryām*, 13c *āvīnīta*, § 175 i 34 3a, 13c *ātiā* only in

this hymn and Mandala ix, § 161 ii 3d yāthā. 35 6a avyākhyāya 6a svār § 135 but perhaps rather extended Tristubh verse 7b mpyāya 7a, 13c sū pām with Sandhi. 36 1a extended Pentad verse, § 97 iii a like 24 5b above, it calls for emendation.

37 1c bhārātā 3c abhigūriā 38 5a dāra 7a āpa 9c nā not with hiatus 10b gndaspdā, § 142 i. 39 1a grādāyā va with Sandhi, and so frequently in this hymn 3c vāstāv usrāk, § 110 ii e. 41. 3a adyā 3b indrā vāyā 4a perhaps svāra varāya 5c dātā 7a sū, nāsatyā 7b dācatā 8a nā not with hiatus 10b abhī, § 167 iii 12a dābhīhā 16a ambūtams is probable § 160 ii 16b dēvītams as 16a 17b dēvātā 17c mānā 18a brāhmā (plur) 18c māmā. \*42. 3a krādā. \*43 2b brahmaputrā va 2c hybrid verse aptā.

### Mandala III

[This collection is singularly homogeneous it is also very regular but characterized by a fairly frequent use of the Vāsanthī verse. See § 110 i.]

1. 1c dīdāt 2a otkrāt 6a vārdhā 16d dāmā 16b dānā 23c sū. 2. 7c sū 8a nāsatyā 8b dāmā 11d vānā (plur) 3 7a sv-apatyā dyātā is probable. 4. 9b svāra, § 148 vi. 5 2a prā idā. 6 1b nāyā 3a dātā 6c vāhā probably Virātsthānā verse 10c prācī dha- § 128 ii but prāk or prād as an adverb is more probable. 7 5d gānā, 6a, 10c sū. 8 3b prāthivā 7c vānā 9a svayādhā 10 3c sū gū with Sandhi. 11. 6a probably abhīgāyā § 167 iii. 12. 1b catalectio verse 7a vānā 14. 2b sūhāya 6a sū. 15 5a kāmā 6a pīpāyā 16 For the metre see § 94 vii 5b perhaps avrātāya (neuter) 6c svā, and see § 213 ii. 17 3d bhānā 18 7a dāpā 4a sū. § 178 19 3b sūpā, sv-apatyā 4c vāhā

20 1a svāsam, § 170 ii a 1c svānā, § 147 2c sū 5d adityān giving irregular break (§ 218 vi) followed by short eighth and tenth syllables this seems more probable than reading adityān and then Jagatī cadence. 21. 5c svādhā svānā is a probable arrangement. 22. 1a sū and perhaps yāmā 1d svānā. 23 4a Rest at the fifth place. 24. 1b dānā. 26 1a madyā. 27 3c perhaps dūsvānā, § 170 ii 14a svā 15a dīdātā \*28 see p. 42 \*29 see p. 42 2a svādhā 4b prāthivā 6c perhaps svādhā, § 167 i 8a sū. 9b svā.

30. 4d svānā va 13d kāmā (plur) 15a dāyā 20c svayādhā, sūhāya 21c svādhā sū for the Sandhi see § 130 ii 21d sū. 31 2a kāmā 9c sū 13a yādā 13b svādhā, § 173 ii 14d sū 15a svā svādhā 20c extended Tristubh verse, unless we correct by reading svā svādhā. 32. 6b for the possible Sandhi see § 130 ii but svādhā is probably the right reading, § 171 v 8a kāmā 15a svādhā, § 145 vi 16b nā not with hiatus. 33 \*13a Epic Anuṣṭubh semi cadence.

34. 6b kāmā 7b svādhā 8b svādhā 9d svā svā. 35 3a svā 7d sūhāya, 9d, 10a svā 36 1d svādhā, § 178 6b svādhā va 9a svā. 38. 2d sū 5a svādhā 7c svādhā 39 8c svādhā at probably

40 2b *haryā*, 3a *dhītāvanam*, § 170 u c, 5a *dadhiṣvā* 41 6a *mandasva* 43 5c *mē 'isim* for the Sandhi see § 130 i, 7a *pībā* 44 2a *uśāsam*, § 170 u 45 1b *yāhī*, 2c *hārioḥ* 46 5a *-dītvā*, § 145 vi 47 2c *jahī*, 3c *tuā* 48 3a *upasthāyā* 49 1a perhaps *yāsmi*, § 178, 2a *nā*, 2d *āyu*, § 178

51 10b *rādhānaam* \*52 See p 43, 6c *tvā*, 8a *bharatā* 53 2d no caesura, § 214, 4d *dhanuā*, § 147, 11a *prētā*, 11c extended Tristubh verse, 16c catalectic verse, \*17c *pātalyē* (y cons), § 135 a, \*22c Epic Anustubh semi-cadence 54 1c *dāmra*, 4a *utā*, 4d *prithvī*, 17b *bhāvathā*, 20c *aadityāh*, § 150 55 1a *uśāsah*, § 170 u, 2a *mā*, 3b *dīdhe*, 17b *sā 'nyāsmi*, 18a, 18b *nā* 56 3b *tri-ndhā* is not required by the metre, but seems probable 57 5d *sādayā* ca, § 175 u, 6d *rāsvā*

58 6b apparently *jahnānām*, with irregular cadence 59 2d hypersyllabic verse, § 224 Sandhi combination of all the words in the first part of the verse is unlikely 60 5d *matsuā*, 6b *sāciā* 61 4b probably *uśā ā yātri* 62 1b *tūjra*, 2a *ū*, 4c *rāsvā*, 7a *pūsan*, but see § 177 u, 7c *tūbhya*, 15a *āyu*, 16a *abhī* should probably be read for *ā*, a heptasyllabic verse being improbable in this collection perhaps *nutra varuna*

### Mandala IV

[This Mandala is also of a homogeneous character, except so far as the metrical standard varies between those of the strophic and normal periods Lyric verse is rare See § 109 i]

1 For the metres of stanzas 1-3 see Ch IV, App Nos 75, 62 and 83, 1e *janatā*, 2a hypersyllabic verse, § 224, unless *agne* be omitted, § 152 i *vavitsuā*, 2c *jyāyistham*, 3a *vavitsuā*, 5c *yaksuā*, 5d *nṛīkām*, 7d probably *arāh*, § 151 u, 9c *dūra*, 10d *drah*, 12d for the Sandhi see § 127 b, 13a *manuṣyāh* (y cons), § 135 a, 15b *gāh*, § 142 u, 17b *devāh*, 17d *ṛtā* (plur), 19c Rest at the fifth place, 20a, 20b *viśveṣaam*

2 1c *mahnā*, § 151 u, 2d the verse as it stands has a Rest at the fifth place and a long ninth syllable but *sukrān* should probably be corrected, 4d *ū*, *vahā*, 5a the cadence becomes regular if *yajñāh* and *asvī* are interchanged, 7d *daśvān*, § 142 v, 8d *dāśuāmsam*, 10c *hōtarā*, § 149 u, 11c *su-apat-*, 12b *dūra*, 12c *dīśa*, 13c *bharā*, 18c *mārtānaam*, 19c *sucandā*, 19d caesura after third syllable

3 3b *sumṛīkāya* in spite of the metre, § 178, 4a *sāmra*, 5d Gautamī verse, 6c *nāsatyāya yaksē*, A Ludwig, 6d probably a Gautamī verse, as 5d, rather than with *rudatāya* but see § 149 u, 9d probably Rest at the fifth place *pipāya*, 11b Pentad verse, 12c Gautamī verse 13b *mā* for *mā* before vowel, 13d Pentad or Gautamī verse 14b Rest at the fifth place *prnānāh*, 14c *ṛgā*, 16a *tubhya*, 16b *nunā*, § 151 u.

4 1c Rest at the fifth place *drunānāh*, 1d *vidhya* is probable, 2d, 3a *sryā*, 8b *sām devātātā*, H Oldenberg, 12d *paantu* is doubtful, on account of the rhythm, 13d *nā ha*, § 175 u, 14b *asāma*, § 147 i, 14c *sūdayā* 5 2a *māhya*, 5a *vidantah*, 5d *ajanata*, § 175 i, 14c *ihā*,



§ 169 v, 4d perhaps *īndarā*m, § 149 i, \*6c *surabhī* (plur) 40 1a *nū*, 2c Rest at the fifth place 4c *-tāvītuat*, §§ 151 ii, 169 iv, 5b *vedīśād*, § 166 ii

41 2d *mahābhīh*, 3a *dhāyisthā*, 3b *śaśamānēbhīrah*, 5b *visabhā'va*, 10a *rāthā*, 11b *īndrā varunā*, cf § 166 i 42 1a *rāstarām*, § 149 iii, 2a *māhya*, 2b *asuryāni*, § 135, 5a, 5b *mām*, 9a *vaam*, 10a *sasan-vāṁsah* seems necessary, though against the metre see § 178 43 1c long ninth syllable, 4a *bhuut* or *bhuvat*, 4d probably we should read *mādhuī* and omit *nah*, 5c *mādhuī*, 7d *naasatyā* 44. 5d *Virātsthānā* verse 45 2d *tannūntah*, § 147, 3b *yuñjathām*, 5b *vāstar*, § 170 ii e, 6b as 2d.

46 3b etc *īndrāvāyū* 47 4d *īndrāvāyū* 48 This hymn contains several catalectic verses, 1a *hōtarā*, § 149 iii, 1b perhaps *ariāh*, § 151 ii, 1c perhaps *candīā* (instr), § 84 A 1, 1d *yāhī*, 3a *vāsūdhīrī*, § 166 iv 50 2c Pentad verse, 11a *īndarā* 51 2a *ū*, 2c *duārā*, § 145 vi, 10c *sonūt* 52 2a *citra* with *-ā* shortened, 4a *tuā*

55 1b *trāsithām*, § 170 i, 4c *ū*, 5b probably *avarī*, § 151 ii, 5c *pāat*, 6b *āpīa*, 6c extended Tristubh verse, 8a *vasavyāsyā*, 8c *asmābhya* 56 1a the latter part reads *prithvīhā jyāyisthe* for the Sandhi see § 128 ii, 3d *śācīā*, 4a perhaps *bīhābhīh*, § 178, 6c *ūhrātthe*, § 147 i \*57 5a *jusethām* is probably a gloss, 6b *tuā* \*58 See p 43, 3b *duē*, 5a *hīdīa*, 9a *hanyāh* (*y* cons), § 135 a or *kanīāh'va*, 10c *nayatā*, 11d catalectic verse

### Mandala V

[The hymns in Anustubh with occasional extra verse stand alone in the Rigveda, and appear in the main to constitute the original Ati collection. In these hymns hiatus is extremely common. The trimeter hymns agree closely with the second Mandala in character, only a few bearing indications of early date. See §§ 105 i, 109 iii.]

1 11a *adyā*, 11b *tīsthā*, 12d *uru-āncam*, § 178 2 12e extra verse 3 10a *bhūrī nāmā*, § 159 iv 4. 6b *suāyār*, 7a Pentad verse *ucātharī* is an attractive correction, § 151 iii. 5 7b perhaps *hōtarā*, § 174 ii, 10b irregular cadence perhaps read *nāma gāhīā*, 11c *devēbhīrah* 6 2a *sā*, 5d *tūbhya*, 6a *prā ū*, 9c *utā pupūrāh*, § 147 i, 10a *evā* with hiatus, 10d *āsu-āsvīam* 7 2a *kūtra*; 5a *smā*, 7c *hīrī-śmasārūh*, § 151 iii, 7d hypersyllabic verse, § 191 iii, 8a *smā*, 8b *svādītr'va*, § 129 ii, 10d, 10e *sasahrūt*, §§ 147 i, 169 iii, 10e catalectic verse 8 1a perhaps *rtayāvah*, § 168 iii 9 2a *daāsvatah*, 3a, 4a *smā*, 7a *abhī*, § 167 iii

10 1d *pānthāam*, 2c *tuē*, § 173 v, 4d *yēsaam*, 6a *nū ū*, 7c *vibhūśāham*, § 166 iv 11 1d *ēbhīrah* 12 3c *vēda* 13 2b *adyā*, 5c *rāsvā* 15 5a *nū*, 5c Pentad verse 16 3a *maghāvanah* or perhaps *maghāvanah*, 5a *nū ū* 17 3a *vā'sā u* the Sandhi is unusual, perhaps read *asyā'sāu vā u*, cf §§ 130 iii, 171 v, 5a *nū ū* 18 3c *yēsaam*, 4b *pāanti*, 5b *āsvānaam*, 5e extra verse *nṛnāam* 19 1, 2 Trochaic Gāyatrī, 5b *vāyīnā* appears to be a gloss on *bhāsmanā*, § 152 i, 5c, 5d catalectic dimeter verses, 5e *-sthāah*

21 3c *tuā* 22 3a *tuā*, 3c probably *vārenyasya* with *y* cons,

§ 137 iii 4b *anāra* 23. 1b perhaps *pramāṇā* § 107 v 7c *viśat*  
24. For the metre see § 212 iii. 25 3b *sumati*; 7b *arā* 7c, 7d  
*ind* 8c *ut* 27 2d *yācchā* 6a *śatāśtanu*. 28. 1b *upāma*  
§ 110 ii a perhaps *urugā* § 178 (H Oldenberg) 3a *śarāṇā* 29 6a  
*śābhya* 8c *akūanta* § 142 iii b 13a *kūhā* nā 14d perhaps *śābhā*,  
§ 170 iii 15b *nūra*, § 151 ii.

30. 3a nā 4d probably *Virāṭsthānā* verse 5l *śrāṇā* 6a perhaps  
*śābhā* id 6b *anūnta* § 147 7c *śra* 9c *ubhā* with final shortened  
before vowel, § 174 i d \*15a *gāra* § 151 ii. 31. 2a *drav* 6c  
probably *śābhā*, § 108 ii *rudā* bā § 128 ii 13b *mā*. 32. 3a  
*śābhā*

33. 1a *didhā* 1c Rest at the fourth place, 2b catalectic *Bhārgavī*  
verse § 227 iii b *kūraṇā* 9c *na* 1c 2d *prā* *rāṇā* § 145 vi 3b *śān*  
4a *Virāṭsthānā* verse (*indra* type) 4c caesura after the third syllable  
the verse becomes regular if *tatukā* is placed at the end 4d apparently  
*śābhā*: extended *Triṣṭubh* verse 5a *na* 4a 5b *gāra* 6a *śābhā*  
(y cons.) *tū* or *Virāṭsthānā* verse 6d *śra* § 106 vi b 7a perhaps  
read *śā* *na* *indra* *śābhā* *śā* 10a Rest at the fifth place is probable  
34. 1c *śābhā* 35. 2d *śā* 8a *indra* *śā*

36. 1a *Virāṭsthānā* verse (*indra* type) 6a *śā* 37 4a *śābhā*.  
38. 3b catalectic verse 4a *ut* 5c, 5d *śābhā* 40 1c etc. *śābhā*,  
§ 177 iii 7a 7c Rest at the fifth place, but see § 151 i \*9a *Epic*  
*Anuṣṭubh* semi-cadence.

41. This hymn contains numerous Rests, words with resolved vowels,  
and examples of hiatus 1c *śābhā* 3a *yācchā* (-ā dual shortened)  
4d *śābhā* 5b in *śābhā* cadence 7d *śā* § 175 ii 8b *Virāṭsthānā*  
verse 9a requires correction § 203 9b *śābhā* 10b *śābhā* or  
Pentad verse 10d Rest at the fifth place 11b perhaps *śābhā*, § 139 i  
11d *śābhā* 12c probably Pentad or *Gautamī* verse 13a *śābhā* or  
*śābhā* see § 178 14c *śābhā* 14d see § 170 ii 16b perhaps  
Rest at the fourth place 16b, 16c *śābhā* 16d *Virāṭsthānā* verse  
16e Rest at the fifth place 19a Pentad verse. 42. 2b *śābhā* 3a *śābhā*  
4d *śābhā*, § 139 iii 15b *śābhā* is suspicious on account of the  
rhythm: perhaps *śābhā* 15a extra verse to 16 18 borrowed from  
v 76

43. 3b *śābhā* 4a *śābhā*, final -ā being shortened before the vowel,  
§ 174 1c 6b *śābhā*, § 142 i 6d *śābhā* 10d *śābhā* 13c *śābhā* 14b  
*Virāṭsthānā* verse. 44. 6a *śābhā* 8d *śā* 10b catalectic verse \*15a,  
\*15b, \*15c hybrid verse.

45. This hymn has many archaic variations 1a *śābhā*, § 148 vi  
1d Rest at the fourth place 2b *Virāṭsthānā* verse 2d *śābhā* 3a  
*śābhā* 5a *śā* 8c *śābhā* 9a *śābhā*, *śābhā*. 46. 2b *śābhā*  
*ut* with Sandhi, § 150 iv 2c *śābhā* § 149 ii 4d *śābhā* with hiatus  
8a *śābhā*, *śābhā* 8b *Gautamī* verse. 48. 4c *śābhā* 5b *śābhā* (plur.),  
cf. ix 70 1d 5c *śābhā*. 49. 3b *śābhā* *śābhā*, § 170 ii c 5b probably  
caesura after third syllable *śābhā* 50 1a *śābhā*, § 142 iii b 2a  
heptasyllabic verse 2b *śā* with hiatus 3c *śābhā*, § 142 i 5b  
*śābhā* *śābhā*, § 151 iii.

51. 12b *śābhā* 13a *Bhārgavī* v. c., § 227 iii b the resolution *śābhā*  
can hardly be justified 13d *śābhā*, § 149 ii \*14b \*14d *śābhā* given  
a better rhythm and f should probably be read throughout, \*14b



probably *svastī pathie*, with long fifth syllable but see § 135, \*14c *svastī* with *v* cons, § 125 iii a, \*15a *svastī pānthām ānu* with Sandhi, § 130 iv

52 1a *śyāvāsua*, § 145 ii b, 2d *paanti*, 3c *marūtaam*, 4d *pāanti*, 8c, 9a *smā*, 9a *pārusnām*, 10c *māhya*, 14c *dhīṣṇava ōjasā* with Sandhi seems unavoidable see § 130 i, 15a *nū ū*, 16a catalectic verse, 16b *gāam*, § 142 ii, 17d *gāva*, § 151 ii. 53 For the metres see § 248 i, 4a *vāsīsu*, 8a *yātā*, 12a *adyā*, 13c *dhattanā*, 14c *visitū*

54. 4c *ājathā*, 6b *kapanā 'va*, § 129 ii, 6d *cāksur 'va* ib, 7d perhaps *rājanam*, § 170 ii c, 14b *avathā*, 14d *dhatthā*, and as 7d 55 4c *utā*, 10a *nayatā* 56 1c *marūtaam* is doubtful, 3c *śimvān*, 5c Rest at the fourth place, 7b *smā* 57 2a *vāśmantah*, § 168 ii, 2c *sthā*, 7c *krnutā* 58 4a *īra*, 5d *matī* is probable, § 139 iii, 7b *suām* 59 2b probably *nāvāh*, § 142 ii, 5b *yūyudhuh*, § 169 iii, 7a *śrāyṇnīh* 60 2c extended Tristubh verse, 8b *pibā*

61 2a the probable reading is *kū vō 'svāh kū abhīśavaḥ*, cf v 74 1a § 151 iii Similarly in 1a *kū* is a probable correction for *kē* 2b *śekā*, § 158 i, 5c *śyāvāsua*, 10a *dhenūndām*, 16c *yajñyāsah*, § 135 but perhaps the true reading is *yajyavaḥ* 62 2a *sū*, 3b *mītrā rājānā*, § 166 i, 9d *jigvāṁśah* 63 6c *vasatā* 64 2c *vaam*, § 151 i, 3a *asūām*, 3b *yayām*, § 142 iii a, 4a perhaps *mitra varuna*, § 166 i, 4b *dhayām* ib, 4d *stotṛnām* or *spuurdhāse*, § 151 i, 5d *sākhīnaam*, 7a *ucchāntrām* 65 5c *tuṭayah*, 6a *mitrā*, 6d *mā* 66 2b *asuryām*, § 135 *āsate*, 6b *mītrā*, § 174 ii 67 1a *deva* is doubtful, § 174 ii, 1d *āsathē*, 3d *pāanti*, 5ab *mitra varuna*, § 166 i 68 4c *devā* 69 2c *tsṛnām* 70 4b *bhujema* 72 2a, 3a irregular cadence 73 1c *purū- purū- bhujā*, §§ 160 i, 166 iv, 9a *vā u*, § 171 v

74 1a *kūa sthah*, the old form *kū* is curiously preserved in a verse where it cannot stand, *deva* with *-ā* shortened, § 174 i a, 2b *nāasatyā*, 2d *nādīnaam*, 3b *yūñyathe*, § 170 i, 6c *nū ū*, 7a *adyā*, 8b *yāyṣtha*, 10c, 10d *vaam*, § 151 i 75 2b *ahām sánā* requires correction. 76 1c *rāthiā* \*78 5b *sūsyantīrāh*, 9d *jīvantīrāh* 79 2c *ucchā* 80 1c *usāsam*, § 170 ii a 81 5d *śyāvāsuaḥ*

82 1c *śrāyṣtham*, 4b, 4c probably require correction as follows *prajāvat saubhagam suvā | duṣvāpnām pārā suvā* \*83 See p 43, 1a *vadā*, 3a probably *rathēr va* (Lanman), 6b *pinvatā*, 9d probably *pīthvām*, § 151 iii, 10c extended Tristubh verse 84 2c Epic Anustubh semi-cadence 85 6a *nū*

86 1a *īndrā-agnī*, 3b *maghāvanoh* or *maghāvanoh*, 5b, 5d *deva* with *-ā* shortened, § 174 i a, 6a *evā īndrā-agnībhyām*, heptasyllabic dimeter verse or read *īndrāya agnāye* 87 For the metre see Ch ix, App No 63, 3c *yēsaam*, 4c *suāt*, 9a catalectic verse, 9e *syātā*

### Mandala VI

[The original Bharadvāja collection was of the same metrical type as that of Gotama Nodhas, i 58–64, but of larger extent. Its general characteristics are described in § 106 iv. The archaic variations are most marked in the hymns 4, 10–13, 20, 24 26, and 63–68 8, but are also found to a smaller extent in many other hymns. The important lyric hymns 46 and 48 also belong to the original collection. Additions

have been made at various times, and cannot always be clearly distinguished but a considerable number especially amongst the Agni hymns, shew the metrical type of the crotic period.]

1. 1c *vyāṇa*, § 117 iii 3a *vacavyaṭh*, § 135 9a *ai* 9d *tubhāh* 13d *vdri*. 2. 9a *tū* 11b *rōdasiyoh*, § 173 ii 11c *vīkī*. 3. 3d *kūtra* 4d, 6b caesura after third syllable 6a *vdātar* 7b *Virātsthānā* verse 8a *yāya* 8b *as* 4d *subhāh* 8c *marillaam*. 4. 2d Rest at the fifth place 4b hiatus after -ā and -a 4c perhaps *tudm* 5a *nīkīkī* 8d Rest at the fourth place. 5. 2a *td*, *pura-anika* 6a *krāha*. 6. 4b *kṛdam*. 8. 3c *ārmāṇi* *va* 5d *vrkōt*.

10. 1b hyper syllabic verse, § 224 or omit *agnīm*, § 153 i 3a *pīpīya* 4a *Virātsthānā* A verse 4b *bhaasā*, *kṛnd-ādhe* *ādā* 4c *bahā* out of § 160 i 6d *gādhia* 7a, 7b extra verses to stanza § 11. 1c *ndasatyā* 3a *dānā* irregular cadence 3c caesura after the third syllable. 12. 2b § 120 4a *ai* with hiatus 4c *kṛtū* probably § 151 ii 5b see § 151 iii 5d *dānā* § 147 6a double Rest, § 227 iii c 6c *yaan* irregular cadence 13. 1a *tud* 1c *Virātsthānā* verse 3d *apdam* 4d *vacavyaṭh* 5d probably extended Tristubh verse. 14. 2a, 3b catalectic verses less probably *arāh* in 3b, § 151 ii 5c, 5d *āpyāh*, § 157 iv

15. 1a *ai* 1d *jūh* *Bhārgavi* verse, § 227 ii b 3a *bhuu* 3d *yacchā* 3e extra (dimeter) verse 4a perhaps *dīstanam*, cf. 20 8c 6e extra verse 8c *mārtiśāh*, § 151 iii 9a *ubhāyā* (nont. pl.) 12b *ā* *śahvānam*, § 117 iii 12d caesura after the third syllable, 13c *darśnām* 14a hyper syllabic verse, § 224 15c Rest at the fourth place 15e extra verse 16d *nayā* 18a *jāmya* \*19c *anbārī*, § 159 iv 18. 1b *vīśvānam* 2b heptasyllabic verse 14a *dādānā* 18b *nandānam* 22a *dṛd*, *gāyā* \*6a *śrāyāh* 27a *tud-ātāh* 33b *yacchā* 40c *śonā* 46a *mārtiśāh*, § 151 iii.

17. 6b *śionā* 7b hybrid verse but see § 130 iv 7d Pentad verse 9a *ai*, § 175 i 10c requires correction, § 225 12a Rest at the fourth place, but see § 151 i 13b *ayurā* (§ 151 ii) seems unlikely hence irregular Rest, cf. § 20, iii b 15a, 15b extra verses to 14 18. 1d *vardhā* 3c *nd* 7a *jānā* (plur.) 7b perhaps *dmartena* 9c *dhyā* 12a read *prā tuvidyānā* *śikṣavasya*, § 152 ii. 19. 2a *vd* 2d *Virātsthānā* verse 3c *yādhā* *va*, § 129 3d the position of the caesura is uncertain perhaps *śārdhā*, *āvyā* *ayā* 6a *bhā* 7d *yivādhāh*, *tubhāh* 10b *as* 2d 10d *dāhā* 12c perhaps *prīthām*, § 151 iii 13d *tubhāh*.

20. 1a *dyāh* *bhāma* with hiatus 2b *anuryām* *Gautamī* verse, § 226 iii b 2d *Virātsthānā* verse, 3d *pudam* 4a irregular cadence 4d caesura after the third syllable 6c *as* 2d 7a Rest at the fourth place 7b Rest at the fifth place 7c probably *Virātsthānā* verse but cf. § 149 iv 151 i 7d probably *Virātsthānā* verse, but cf. § 149 iii 8c probably *śārdhā* in one word 10b long ninth syllable the occurrence is not sufficient evidence of an adverb end 10d probably *as* 7a but see § 151 i 11a *Virātsthānā* verse (*indra* type) 11c *vdānam* 13a *as* 11a 13c *tubhā*.

21. 2a *Virātsthānā* verse (*indra* type) 2b *Virātsthānā* verse 3b *rayānā* cf. iv 51 1b 0b *śādhā*, 6c *as* 2b, 6d *vd* *vidmā* *tud* 7c

yūja, 8a as 2a, 8b as 2b, 8d á-istau, where á represents ā 22 2a ū, 3d bharā, 6c Virātsthānā verse, 7a probably nāvyaśā, § 139 i, 9c dhrivā 23 5a varāna gives a hypersyllabic break, § 219 perhaps read vāvna or vēna, 6d kiryōsma this form is suspicious in this hymn perhaps karāma, 8a probably mandasva

24 2c narāam, 3a Rest at the fourth place, 3c nū, 4c vatsūnaam, 5a adyā, 5d par-eta, -ā being shortened before a vowel, 6d Pentad or Gautamī verse, 7d Gautamī verse, § 226 in a see also § 151 in, 8b sātva, § 178, 9c ūtī, -ī being shortened, § 173 āis, § 167 iv, 10b Virātsthānā verse (īndra type) 25 1c sū, 1d as 24 6d, 2a perhaps ārisanyann, § 167 iv, 3a extended Tristubh verse, 3c tuām esaam

26 1a Gautamī verse, 2b gādha, 2c hypersyllabic verse, § 224 cf 7c, 5c probably Virātsthānā verse for possible dāasa see § 151 i, 7c tuāyā and as 2c but see on stu, § 151 in, 8b prāysthāh, 8c the last half of the verse is entirely unrhythmical perhaps read ksatīa-astu -srāysthah with divided compound, cf § 152 in

27 3a nahī nū, 4a trāt, 5b probably a compound abhyāvantī-cāyamānāya, cf 8c see also § 151 in, 7b sū, 8b māhya \*28. 2b suām, 3d jōk, 6c knuthā, 7a suyārasam, 7d rudarāsyā, § 149 in 29 2b Rest at the fourth place, 2c irregular cadence, 5b tū, 6b ūtī with long final vowel, § 173 i

30 1a Rest at the fourth place, 1d vōdasī 'bhē, § 128 in, 2a asuryām, 2d possibly uruyā, § 178, 3b ābhah, 4b jāyān, 5a Rest at the fifth place 31 2a tuāt Virātsthānā verse (īndra type), 3d āvver āpāñsi, 4c sāciā, 4e extra verse, 5d śāvayā 32 4b mahābhūh, § 178

33 1a Virātsthānā verse (īndra type), 1b daāsān, 2b caesura after the third syllable, 2d tuotāh, 3d nṛnāam, 4c Virātsthānā verse 34 1d uktha-arkā 35 2a, 3a Virātsthānā verses (īndra type) 36 1d asuryām, 5a srūta, 5b daūh 37 2a prā ū with hiatus, 2b, 3c ījantah, § 151 in 38 4b perhaps brāhmā (plur) 39 5b puvā 40 1a tūbhya, 2a pibā 41 5a probably Virātsthānā verse, 5d avā 42 3c vēda

44 4a tuām ū, 4c visvāsaham, § 170 in b, or rather visvasaham, 7-9 for the metre see § 249 i, 7a, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 9b, 9d Pentad verses, 7b, 7c Gautamī verses, 9a Virātsthānā verse, 7c sasanvūn, 7d probably bhavat, giving a Pentad verse, 8c nāmā (plur), 8d vanyāh (y cons), 9c knuthī or more probably krdhī, giving a Pentad verse, 10d tuā, 11d jahē, § 173 i, 13b bharā, 14a purū plur, § 159 iv, 15a Virātsthānā verse (īndra type), 16a trāt Virātsthānā verse, but see § 149 in, 21c pṛpāya, 22c suāsya

45 5b duāyoh, 7c gāam, § 142 in, 9b jānānaam, 9c vrhā, 10b vājānaam, 16b kṛstīndam, 17c mṛlayā, 18a dhrivā, 19a rayīndam, 22a gāyā, 29b stotṛndam catalectic verse, 31b asthaat

46 2c gāam, § 142 in, 4a vsabhō 'va, § 129 in, 5d ā ubhé prāah, 8a druhyāv, § 170 in e, 9c yacchā māhya, 11b ava, § 175 in, 11d perhaps -mūrdhanah, § 170 in c, 12b sarmā, 12c yacchā the latter part of the verse is very irregular tanvē is not without parallels (§ 135 b), but on the whole a hybrid verse with long ninth syllable is more probable cchadhīh, 12d for dvēśah, dvēsam should probably be restored

47 See p 44 1c *utā nī* 2b *yāya* with hiatus 2c perhaps *cynaland*, § 149 iv 3d *yāllhā* 6a *pibā* 9a *Virāṭsthānā* verse (*indra* type) 9b *śāḍvan* needs correction, perhaps to *śāḍvan* for *śakasāvan*, cf. i 91 23b 9c *ipāva* 10a *vīṭā* *nāhya* 10b *codāyā* 14c probably *urā*, § 160 i 16d *manuṣyān* (y *bons.*), § 183 a 17c *-dhūnuṇā* 18a, 18d extended *Trīṣṭubh* verses 23a *dāṣ* *śūnān*, § 145 ii b 23c *dāṣa*, catalectic verse 24b *gdaḥ*, § 142 ii irregular cadence \*28c *ad imān*, \*29a *śvāyā* \*29b, \*30c extended *Trīṣṭubh* verses \*31b Rest at the fourth place \*31c extended *Pentad* verse (§ 227 in a), probably to be corrected.

48. 4d *vājan utā* with *Sandhi*, § 130 iv *vīṭā* *vāṭrū* 6c, 7c extra *ā* 8a *vīṭā* 8c, 15c extra verses 16b *nā* 17c requires correction, perhaps *vāḍhā* see also § 151 i 17d *vāyā* § 151 i 18a *dīr* *ca* 21a *dīdam* 21c extra verse *yāyāsthānā* 49 5c *naṣatyā* with *Sandhi* 8b *āpā* 7a *citrā-āyā* 8c *candā-āgrā* 11b *ganā* 12c *tanā*, § 168 iv 15a *nā* 15c extra verse.

50 4d *dhūma*, § 142 iii b 7b *dāḍā* 9c *aratnā* (BR.) perhaps *vāḍā* *d*, cf. \*i 24 15c, ii 28 2a, and for the metre: 60 4c, vii 42 4c 13d *dhāḍā* 15c *gdaḥ*, § 142 ii b 15d *dhūmā* 51 2b *dāḍā*, gen. pl., § 151 iii 2c *ṭā* (plur) 2d *Virāṭsthānā* verse less probably *nīrā*, § 151 i 3a *ā* 4a *Virāṭsthānā* verse 5a *dhāḍā* 7c *dhāḍā* 9b caesura after the third syllable 10a *śvāyāsthā* *ā* 12d perhaps *vāyā*, § 168 iii.

52 See p. 44 5b *nā* 14a see § 135 but perhaps *yāyāsthā*, and so as the next two verses 14b, 14c *hyper-syllabic* verses, § 224 14b *apāva* 53 4b *anāḍ* 5c, 6c, 7c *amādhya* 6b *vāḍā* 7a *vāḍā* 8d extra verse 54 3c *nā* 10a *parāḍā*, § 151 i 55 3b, 4a *ayāḍā* 56 5b *śvāva* is probable, § 168 vi a 6d extra verse 58 2a *ayāḍā* 59 2a *vāva* 9b *vāḍā* (plur).

60 1c *vāva* exceptionally § 151 ii 4a *heptasyllabic* verse 13a *indra* with *-ā* shortened before vowel cf. § 174 i a also *-āgnā*, § 174 ii b 13c *ipāva* 14b *vāyāsthā*, § 135 61 2b *ānā* (plur) 3c, 10b *catalectic* verses 11b *urā* is unlikely § 160 i, 13b *ayāḍā* acc. pl. 62 6a *adāḍā*.

63. 1a *āḍā*, § 174 i a 1c *naṣatyā* 1d *prāyāsthā* 2b *Pentad* verse 3c *Virāṭsthānā* verse with irregular cadence, perhaps requiring correction 2d *nā* not with hiatus 3a *Virāṭsthānā* verse, 3d *a-āyā*, § 151 c cf. vii 79 4d, and *a-āḍā*, *a-āva* § 151 i 4c Rest at the fourth place 7a perhaps *dāḍā*, § 151 ii 8a *purā* *purā* *dhūyā*, § 160 i *dayānā* 8c *māḍā* 9c *dāḍā* 10b *dāḍā* 10c *vīva* see § 174 ii 11a extra verse to stanza 10.

64. 2a perhaps *urāyā* 4c *vāḍā* 5a *ad ā* *vāḍā* *yā* probably *ad* and *yā* having the vowels shortened. 65 1a *nā* 3c *maghāvanā* or *maghāvanā* 3d *dhāḍā* 4d *nā* 5a Rest at the fifth place.

66. 1c *pāyā* 2b *dāḍā*, 3b *ca ā* *nā* *Virāṭsthānā* verse 3c *Pentad* or *Gautamī* verse 3d *ad* *it* 5c probably read *ayāḍā* *māḍā*, § 151 i, iii 6d *Pentad* verse 8b *dāḍā* 9a, 10c Rests at the fifth place. 67 1a *śāḍā* 1c *raḍā* *ca* 1d *dāḍā* *yā* dual with hiatus 4c possibly *māḍā* or *māḍā* § 178 6d *ā* *ānā*, *dyānā* 8c *ghṛāṇā* § 174 i a 9a *spāḍā*, § 151 i 9b *dāḍā* (plur). 9d *āpā* 10a *Virāṭsthānā* verse 10c *Pentad* verse, 11a *dhāḍā* 11c *Pentad* verse.

68 2a *śāyīsthā* irregular cadence, 2b *śūānaam*, perhaps *savistha*, § 174 ii, 2c *maghōnaam* or Gautamī verse, 4a *gnāh*, § 142 i, 4b *naīām*, 4c probably *prā ebhyaḥ* with hiatus, 4d *diāūh* or *dyāvā* Rest at the fourth place *prithvī*, 5b *varunā*, 5c *daāsvān*, Pentad verse, 7a probably Gautamī verse, but see § 149 iii, 7c *yēaam* or *sasahvān*, 7d perhaps *tārutah*, § 169 v, 8a *nū ū*, 9b *āīcā*

71 6a *adyā*, 6b *asmābhya*, 6c *kṣāyasa* (H Oldenberg) 72 The extended Tristubh verses 1b, 1c, 2b, 3b are not necessarily indications of late date they may be connected with uneven lyric metre See on viii 35, § 242 iv, 2c *dyāam*, 5b *śrūtra* \*74. 1a *asuryām* \*75 3d *ṇā* with hiatus, 9b *sāktivantah*, § 168 ii, 14a *āhur īa*, 14b *ṇāyāh*, 16b *sāravye*, § 135 a, 17e *visvāhā* extra verse, 18b for the caesura see § 205 ic, 18c hybrid verse, 19a *suāh* heptasyllabic verse, 19c semi-cadence of Epic Anustubh

### Mandala VII

[The great majority of the hymns are characterized by an approximation of the trimeter rhythm to that of dimeter verse, as described in § 213 The name of Vasistha and the characteristic refrain verse are however found even in the hymns which have not this metrical type, and are therefore probably of a different period see § 107 ]

1 3a *prā-iddhah* perhaps *dīdhī*, 3b *su-ūrmīā*, 5b *su-apatyām*, *sahasia*, 7a *dahā*, 8c *utā*, 13a *pāhī*, 15b Virātsthānā verse but such verses are so rare in this collection that they invite emendation, 16a *sā*, 18a *imā*, 18c *viantu*, 19b for the caesura see § 205 ic, 20d *pātā*

2 1c *spīśā*, 6c perhaps *barluk-sādā*, § 178, 7c for the caesura see § 213 ii. 3 1d *ghṛtā-anna*, 2d *smā*, 3c *duām* or *dyāam*, 4a perhaps *prithvām*, § 151 iii, 4b *trṣṭā*, § 160 i, 7a *daśema*, 8d *sumāt*, 9c *mātrōh* this is a very unusual measurement, see § 139 vi

4 2c perhaps *sūcudantah*, § 151 iii, 2d *bhūrī* (plur), 3b *mārtīāsah*, § 151 iii Pentad verse, 6d *mā* with hiatus extended Tristubh verse, 8d *abhiśāt*, § 167 iii 5 1a Rest at the fifth place, 3a *tuāt*, 6a *tué*, § 173 *asuryām*, 9b *śrūtra* 6 2a see on vii l 15b *dhaasim* is possible, 2b *rōdasīyoh*, 3c Pentad verse, 7d *ā* with hiatus 8 1a *ariāh*, § 151 ii the interpretation is doubtful, 1d *ā* with hiatus, 2a probably *ū sīā*, but the rhythm is irregular, 5a *tvé*, § 173 9 2c *mandarā* is just possible, § 149 iii *vrśāam*

11 1b *nārté tuāt*, 5a *vahā* 12 1d *prati-āncam*, 3c *vāsū* (plur) 13 1c *prnānāh*, 3c *īria* 15 13b *smā*, 14c perhaps *pūuh*, § 151 i 16 3a *asthaat*, 4a *tuā*, 4d *rāsvā*, *tuā*, 5c catalectic verse, 7a *tué*, § 173, 8c *sahasia*, 11a *-dāah*, § 142 i, 11c as 5c 17 1a *bhāvā*, 5a *vāmśvā*

18 1d *vāsū* (plur), 4a *suyāvase*, 22a *dué*, 22b *vadhūmantā* is possible, § 218 iv 19 2a *indara*, § 149 i a, 5c *śatatamām a-* with Sandhi, § 130 iv, 9a *nī*

20 2a *indarah*, 2d *vāsū* (plur), 3d *satrugāntam*, § 168 iii, 6a for the caesura see § 214 ii, 7b *dayāntm*, 7c perhaps *āmarā*,

7d 213 il 21 3c tu it a Ga 1: lam 2a irregular cadence (§ 200 v) is improbable in the collection perhaps read *yāma tī mātā rādhā* *nikhāyā* : for the opening of 20 Rd 22. In *mātā* 3c *brāhmā* Ga, Gb *bhāra* probably an adverb with plural form. 6c met with hiatus just 8c as in. 24. 4l 1 rhaph *hastmā* (jdur) 6c *pārad*

25 1c *lathā* (r cma) § 139 v 1d *rajulā* § 166 iv 2b *mādhā* § 101 iii o *kṛnā* "d *bhāra* 3c *yā* § 101 26 b for the enema see § 201 v a. 27 d *pārad* probably § 107 i 4c *pārad* 3c *rādhā* 28 1a *brāhma* see § 171 i 3b *Virāṭsthānā* verse probably requiring correction 4d the metre requires *indiyā*. 29 1a *indī* *tādhā* c ad 3a *su ukā* 3l *lāma* 4a *utī ghā*.

31 4c *radhā* 1f § 161 iv 3c *tu* § 139 v 32. 2a *radhā* 10a *radhā* 19c hypermetrical opening, requiring correction § 217 15a *and* 21c *tādhā* 1a *radhā* 1b *radhā* § 161 iii 2a catalectic verse perhaps read *indiyā* "Cb *radhā*

33. 2d *and* 1a § 171 i 3c *tu* 14 v 10a *radhā* 1f the double hiatus in this hymn is suspicious. 34. 1b *radhā* § 161 iii 19b *kṛnā* 14l *radhā* 16a *radhā* (§ 141) gives an irregular opening 17a *Virāṭ* *sthānā* verse 18b *Tristubh* verse 35 See p. 41 6c *radhā* § 119 ii 13c perhaps *if* *lāma* 14d *radhā* (§ 141 ii) or *ye* *guyā* h

36. 2d *radhā* 3c for the enema see § 201 v a 1d *radhā* § 149 ii *radhā* 37 3a *dayā* 1b *radhā* 1a *radhā* 4c *radhā* 3c *radhā* 38 2a *radhā* 1b *radhā* see § 140 iii 6a *radhā* § 111 l long ninth syllable as also in 7c 8a *radhā* 39 3b emendation seems required as *Radhā* continuation of a locative from an u stem stem unknown of § 100 130 iii, 101 ii 11 4d 1 *radhā* 5a 1 with hiatus 1b *radhā*.

40. 1a 1 with hiatus, § 161 ii 2c *radhā* (§ 161 i) is certain but the form is unexplained. 6a probably *radhā*, cf 1 165 15c 6d *radhā* § 111 v 41 1d catalectic verse 3c *radhā* 6a *radhā* 6d either *radhā* or § 101 iii or omit *radhā* as a gloss § 162 i 42. 3a *radhā* 1b *radhā* 4b *radhā* 6a *radhā* with hiatus 6b *radhā* § 161 i 43. 2a *radhā* 1d *radhā* 5b *radhā* § 161 iii 45 2c *radhā* 40 1b probably *radhā* *kṛnā* 2a *kṛnā* 2d *radhā* § 149 ii 4c *radhā* 48 1a *Virāṭsthānā* verse 4b *radhā*.

\*50 1a *radhā* (§ 161 i) or *Radhā* at the fifth place, 4 two Tristubh verses must be restored at the beginning of the stanza 4a perhaps ends *radhā* 4b read *radhā* for *radhā* 4c extra verse: *radhā* § 135 b 52. 3c *radhā* verse. 53. 3a *radhā*. 54. 1d *radhā* extended Tristubh verse \*55 The four-syllable verse in each of the stanzas 2-4 is without parallel in the popular *Ṛigveda*, see § 102 7c *radhā* (y cma), § 135 a 8c catalectic verse

56 3b *radhā* 6a *radhā* 8b probably *radhā* or 9b perhaps *radhā* 10a *radhā* (plur) 10b Tristubh verse 11a *radhā* 14c *radhā* 17a *radhā* with long ninth syllable 18a *Virāṭsthānā* verse 20d *radhā* 21c *radhā* 22d *radhā* 23a *radhā*, *radhā*, § 159 iv 158 i 24b *radhā* 57 1b *Radhā* at the fifth place 2d *radhā* 5c *radhā* 6b for the enema see § 201 v a 6d *radhā*. 58 4d *radhā* 6a *Virāṭsthānā* verse, or (with *Radhā*) *radhā* 6b *radhā*. 59 4b *radhā* 4d *radhā* 5a *radhā* 6d *radhā*

6d *-ādhua*, 8b extended Tristubh verse, 8c Rest at the fifth place, \*12c *-kām 'va*, § 129 m

60 1a for the caesura see § 205 iv a, 2d *ryū* (plur), 9a *hōtarābhīh*, § 149 m, 9b Rest at the fifth place, 12a *devā* 61 1a *varunā*, 1d § 214 n, 3d *yatō* || *-nimśam*, 6d *brāhmā* (plur) 62 1b *jānīmā* (plur), 4a *trāsīthām*, § 170 i, 6a *nū ū* 63 1a, 2a *ū*, 3c see § 177 i 65 1a *su-uktaīh*, 1c *asuryām*, *jyāyīstham*, 2a *tā* for *tā* dual, § 174 i a

66 2a catalectic verse, 2c *asuryāya*, 3a *tanūpāā*, § 142 i, 8b, 8c *vyām* is a monosyllable, § 151 m, 12b *su-uktaīh*, 13c *succhadīs-*, 19a perhaps *mitra varuna* 67 2b *ūpa*, 5b as 60 1a, 9b probably *rayīnā*, § 139 68 2a *mādra*, 3c as 60 1a, 8d *staryām*, § 135' b 69 3a perhaps *ā suasvā yasāsā*, 5a *vāstav*, § 170 n e

70 5b *caṣṭathe*, § 170 i, 6a *naasatyā* 71 2d *mādhuī*, *trāsīthām* 72 3c for the Sandhi see § 128 m 73 3a *pathāam* 74 5d *asmābhya*

75 3a *trē*, 3b *uśāsah*, § 170 n a, 4a *sūā* catalectic Bhārgavi verse, requiring correction, § 227 m b, 8b *āsvavat*, § 168 n 77 1a *ūpa*, 4d *codāyā*, 5d *āsvavat* 78 1d *asmābhya*, 5a *adyā* 79 4a *asmābhya*, 4c *visabhāsya*, § 175 i, 4d *a-ū noh*, § 121 c cf vi 63 3d

80 2a *sūā* 81 1a *ū*, 5d *āsvā*, 6b *asmābhya* 82 2a requires correction somewhat as follows *samīd vām anyā anyā ucyate svarāt* but cf § 151 m, 6b *suām* 83 7b perhaps *yūyudhuh*, § 169 m 84 2a *rāstarām*, § 149 m, 3c *ūpa* 85 2d *sūuā*, 4b *ādityā*

86 3b *ūpa*, 4a *jyāyīstham*, 4d emendation is required, perhaps *tareyam* from *tar*, *tur* but see §§ 130 i, 151 m 87 2b *sasanvān*, 2c for the Sandhi see § 128 n, 2d *dhāmā*, 6b Pentad verse, 7a *mṛlāyāti* 88 3c *'sānūbhīh*, § 151 m, 3d for the caesura see § 205 iv a, 6c probably requires correction 89 1a *nū sū*

90 1c *vāhā*, 2b *tūbhya*, 3a as 87 2c, 4a *uśāsah*, § 170 n a, 5c, etc *īndrāvāyū* 91 2c, etc *īndrāvāyū*, 3d *su-apatyānī*, 5d *prnānā* 92 1c *ūpa*, 3a *dāśuśāmsam*, 4a *indura-*, 5a extended Tristubh verse 93 1b, etc *īndrā-agnī*, 1d *dhāyīsthā*, 3a *ūpa*, 3c *hāsthaam*, § 142 i, 4d *dayīsnaiḥ*, 6a *ū śā*, 6c *nū ū* *-ātha* for *-āthe*, § 174 i e 94 9b *āsvavat*, § 168 n, 10c *sāptivantā*, 1b, 12d extra verse

95 6a *ū* 6c *vārdhā* 96 1a *ū*, 1b *āsuriye* (vocative) or (as Bollensen) *asurīyām*, 2c Bhārgavi verse, perhaps requiring correction 97 3a *jyāyīstham*, 3b for the caesura see § 205 iv a, 5d *anarvānam*, § 170 n c, 6a Rest at the fifth place, 7c *su-āveśāh*, 9a as 3b 98 1b *jūhōtanā*, 6a *pasavyām* (*y* cons), § 135 a 99 1c *vidmā*, 3d *prthvīm*, § 151 m

100 1a perhaps *nū ū mātrah*, 3a Rest at the fourth place 101, 102 See p 45 101 4b *trayīdhā* 102 2c *pūnīśnaam* \*103 5a *esaam*, 8a extended Tristubh verse \*104 3a catalectic verse, 6d *nīpātī 'va*, 11a *sā*, 13a *nā*, § 175' n, 15a hypersyllabic verse, § 224, 15b *tatāpā*, § 158 i, 18b *grībhāyātā*, 19a *vartayā*, 19d *jahī*, 20c *-ebhrah*, 22d *mrnā*, 24a *jahī*, 25a *caṣṭvā*, *caṣṭuā*

*Mandala VIII*

A. VIII 1-11 [Kanya collections, § 108 but with more variety of metre than is found elsewhere.]

1 2h *gdam*, § 142 ii 5h *dayaydm*, § 142 iii a 10a *adyt*  
 10a *duḍm* if the word is correct, 16o perhaps *td* with hiatus  
 otherwise long ninth syllable 19d *kunūndm*, § 147 21o *rtccam*  
 23a *mātsd* 26c either *rasmaḥ ydm* with Sandhu (§ 130 i) or hybrid  
 verse, cf. also § 151 iii 28c *lādā* § 142 v 30a irregular cadence,  
*gha* (§ 158 v) being unexampled 30c *ydh* § 148 i 32a *māhya*  
 32h perhaps *karaydyt*, § 130 iii, \*34o *abhiḥkṛtā*.

2. 3h *triśatukā* 11b *triṣṭi* 13b *śatī* 13c *ś* 15b *daś*,  
 § 152 in *a*, or catalectic verse 20a *niśā* 22a *niśā* 22b *viśā*,  
 § 158 i 20a *pāṭā*, § 142 i 28b heptasyllabic verse 28d extra verse  
 30b *śubha* catalectic verse, but see § 151 in 32h *puru* *puru* *kāṭh*  
 § 160 i 35c *śaś* plural 38h *puruṣmānā*, § 170 *ś* 40b *kāṇḍin*.

3 4o ad 6d svāntāśah 10o ad 12o probably *śagdhā* § 163 iv  
11a iud 13o nañi nñ 31d extra verse *opera* requires correction  
32b *prdanā*, § 14<sup>o</sup> L \*24. This is probably a Pañkti verse 24a Epic  
semi-cadence 24o trocheae semi-cadence 24d read *pñksthāpānam*  
*ābrāma*.

4. 7a cataleptic verse 14a *edidit* requires correction 16b *edidit*  
19a *satissimum*, § 145 u b 20a *hansu* 21b *odam* § 142 u.

5 13o md 29a caam § 161 i 31a perhaps parallelat, § 161 i  
31b atndnta § 174 i a 32o ndasatyā 35b probably catalectic verse  
or atnuh, § 161 ii 35o as 3<sup>o</sup> 37b perhaps viditām, § 147 i  
3id dēdrnaam 39a gaah, § 14<sup>o</sup> nla.

8. 18a, 20a *uā* 31o *uā* 33a *brahmanā*, cf. § 151 i 39a  
*māndarā* 40b *pāśā* § 170 u.c. 7 2b probably *dardhuam*, § 151 i  
 11c *śā* 14b *as* 2h 18a *avā*, § 158 i 21a *smā* 26o *duā* 32a *śā*  
*śā* 32o *śāśāśā* § 170 iu 33a *d n śā* 33o *vaymā* (cf. § 147 i), or  
 catalectic verse.

8. 12d probably *anīśadīn*, § 170 i 15a *nāśadī* 17b probably *parāśhaya*, § 168 iv 19c *vipanyu* is possible, § 174 ii 23d *jīśśhāśh*. 9 1d *prthīś cchāśh* 6b *deś* 9a *nāśśśyā* 15a *nāśśśā*, or catalectic verse. 10 2c perhaps *vīśśśśśśśś*, § 178 3a *śīś* 4a catalectic verse 5d *āśhā* with long fifth syllable, § 158 v 6a *parāśhaya*. 11 2a *prāśśśāśh* 3b catalectic verse 4a heptasyllabic verse 4b perhaps *nāśśśśśśś* 5b *śśśśśśś nāśśś* (plur) 7b perhaps *śāśśśśśśśś*, § 151 i 10b *nāśśś*, § 151 ii 10c *śśśśś*.

B VIII 12-31 [These collections are almost exclusively in lyric metres. They have every indication of antiquity but the few dimeter hymns which are included in the collection appear by their smoother rhythm to be later additions.]

12. 4c yīna nā 18c dāha 28c, 29c 30c trimeter verses. 13. 9a utā 13c is a trimeter verse, though with dimeter rhythm, as nāh is unaccented 15c as 13c 19d ad 31a perhaps yādī 25a vārdhasra nā 28c utā 30d vicākuā 31b utā. 14. 2a irregular cadence. 15. 1a a 10c su-apatyāni 12a tuā. 16. 3a sūstutā or sūstutā ā 6a



*ārvanti*, § 145 m, 7b *purā-* *puru-* *hūtāh*, § 160 i, 11b *svastī* 17 1b the text for once gives correctly *pībā* with hiatus, 5c *gībhāyā*, 11a catalectic verse, 14c *purāam*, 14d *mūnīnaam*

18 2b *āditiānaam*, 7b *ūtī ā* (for *ūtī ā*) is the more probable reading, 11c *krnutā*, 13c *suañh*, 15a catalectic verse, 16b *apāam*, 18b *āyu*, § 178, 22c probably *āyu*

19-22 See § 104 n 19 4b *śrāyastha-*, 4c *sā*, 7b *ūrjaam*, 10c *sā*, 14d *udnō 'va*, § 129 n, 16b *nāsatrā*, 18a Rest at the fifth place, 18c *jgruh*, § 151 n, 20d *vanēma*, 24a *ārayata*, § 175 i, 27 extra verses to 26, 30a *sā*, 33a two additional syllables are required cf § 226 4a perhaps repeat *anyē*, 34b *nāyathā maghōnaam* belongs to the second verse 37 This stanza must certainly have been Satobrihati originally, perhaps with an extra dimeter verse but the original form is not easily restored. For the first verse see § 152 n, but a trimeter verse is required, 37d *pranayitā*, § 142 m b, 37e *diyānaam*

20 3b *marūtaam*, 6a *drañh*, 9b irregular cadence, 14b *tēsaam*, 14c *arānaam*, 17c the first part of the verse seems to be defective, 18d probably *vavrdhuam*, § 151 n, 19c *gāyā* 24a *āvathā*, 25a *āsiknām*

21 4c probably *dhāmā* otherwise a hybrid verse, 8c *utā*, 12c *hānāma* is probable, § 178, 15b *tuāvatah* 22 1a *ā ū*, 2a *pūrva-* with internal hiatus, 5d *nāsatrā*, 6c *adyā*, 14c hybrid verse, 16c *bhurutam*, § 142 m b, 17a *āsvavat*, § 168 n

23-26 See § 104 m 23 1a *īlśva*, 3c extended Vñātsthānā verse, 4a *asthaat*, § 142 m a 5a *tisthā*, 7c the rhythm is very irregular, and emendation is desirable, 9c *ūpa*, 11b *bhañh*, § 142 v, 12a *ūrjaam*, 12b *rāsvā*, 12c *arā*, 16a probably *vasūvidam*, § 166 iv, 16b *aprināt*, 17a *tuā*, 21b *āvridhat*, § 169 vi, 23b *jyāyastha*, 24a *arācā*, 24c *dāmra*

24 11b, 12a *tuāt*, 14a *ūpa hārīnaam*, 14c catalectic verse, 15c *nā* 'not' with hiatus, 16b *siñcā*, 17c Rest at the fifth place, 18a *vājānaam*, 19a *ētā*, 23c the rhythm is irregular, 24b perhaps *parivijam*, § 167 i, 24c as 23c, 28a *susāmane*, 30 probably in its original form an Uśnih verse, 30a perhaps *yājāmānah*, 30c *esā* perhaps omit *apaśritah*

25 1a *gopāā*, § 142 i, 3b *asuyāya*, 4a perhaps *mitra varuna*, 4b *dēva*, § 174 i a, 5c, 7c irregular rhythm, 10b *nāusatyā*, 12c perhaps *sindhu*, § 170 n f, 13b *gopayātram* (§ 136 i) or catalectic verse, 14a *apāam*, 14c *mādhvāñśah*, 17c long eleventh syllable, almost without parallel, § 220 iv, 18b *prthivāñh*, 18c catalectic verse perhaps *mahitvanā*, 22a *uḥsanvāyane*, § 136 i, 22b perhaps *hārāyāyane*, 23a heptasyllabic verse, 23b *hārīnaam*, 23c *utā nū* for the caesura see § 205 iv a, 24c irregular break, easily corrected by interchanging *vājīnā* and *ārvantā* *ārvatā* is also possible

26 2b *naasatyā*, 3a *adyā*, 7c *svāra*, § 174 i a, 8b *nāsatrā*, 11b *utā*, 12c *māhya*, 13c *cahāta*, § 174 i e, 19c *-yāvanā*, § 170 ii c, 20, 21, 25 it is probable that all these were originally Uśnih stanzas, 22c is unrhythmical, 23b *vahasra*, 24c for possible *āsua-* see § 151 n

27 5a *adyā*, 8a *yātā*, 11d *āmām*, 12c Bhārgavī verse, 14c *adyā*, 15d *āvridhat*, § 169 vi, 20b *yemā*, § 158 i, 21c *dhatthā* 28 4a catalectic verse the words *tāthéd asat* are probably a gloss, anticipating

the sense of the next verse 5c *aptd.* 29 2a *diśānah* § 151 ii 5b omit *śikṣā* § 152 i 6a *pṛāya* 8a *dhā* 9a *cahṛata* dual §§ 170 i, 174 i c 30 For the metres see § 48 ii 3b *ū* 3d *naistā* 4d \**gḍā* *dāyā*. 31. 2a catalectic verse 6b *dhā* § 170 i 9d extra verse *dereṣu* § 175 i 10c heptasyllabic verse 11b *suastī* 13b *gopīah*, § 142 i 13c *pṛīthāah*, § 142 ii 14d extra verse 15c etc. *dardānam*

O VIII 32-59 [This part of the *Māṇḍala* consists of *Kaṇva* hymns and others of the same period. Hymn 46, however has a distinctively archaic character]

32. 6a perhaps *yāti* 10c *śidhā* § 160 i 18b *dyatāh* § 167 iv 19c *pibā* 24a *tā*, 25c long fifth syllable easily corrected by reading *pakṛāṇi gōnu* 33. 4c *hṛīh* 6a as 33 18b 8c *tud* 12b *vṛpan* § 177 iii 13d *brīhmad* (plur.) 14a *ratheṣṭhdam* § 142 i 15b *dhīrā* \*17c *utā*. 34. 1d etc. *yayā* § 158 i 13b *adhāh* § 146 ii b

35-38 See §§ 105 iii, 134 i b 35 For the metre see § 42 iv 5a *yurāṇi* va § 129 ii 13a omit *-antā* the first time, § 152 ii 16a perhaps *brīhmad* (plur.) 19b etc. *dānyā* § 145 ii b 24b *dora*, § 174 i a 36. See § 247 iv 4a probably *pṛīthāh* 38 2a *yārand* § 170 i c.

39-42. See § 100 iv 39 1b perhaps *yayādhāi*, § 146 ii 3a *śidhā* 4c *hṛīh* 6b *apīcāni* is perhaps a gloss, § 153 i *mārdānam* 6c *dhā* § 143 i 40 1d *vid* (plur.) 2c *nṛdam* 3c *ū* 4a *arā* 6d *reṣu* may be a gloss, § 152 i 8c *indrīgnibh* 9a *indra* may be a gloss, § 152 i 10c, 11c *utā nā* 41 2b *pīṣṭdam*.

44. 11b *smā* 16b *pṛīthāh* 23b *nā* 28a *tud* § 173 v 45 8a *abhiyāh* § 16 i iii 11b *dācāntāh* § 108 ii 32a *vṛpāh*, § 175 i 26b *dhā* § 151 ii, or restore *dhāre* 34b *dhāyāh* 38a as 27a.

46. For the metres see § 248 iii 1b *prāyāṣṭāh* § 142 iii b 2b 2c *vidā*, § 158 i 3a *māhīnam*, § 170 ii c 4c *pānti* 10a *yayā* *et* 11b catalectic verse 14a hypersyllabic verse, § 224 but perhaps *gāyā* belongs to 14b, and *māhī* should be omitted there cf. 17b 14c *śikṣā* 15a *dyāyāh* 16a *vācānam* 16b requires correction 17b Rest at fourth place or omit *mīṣṭā* 17c omit *vācānam*, § 15 i 13c probab y with *yāya* (§ 156 i) as hybrid verse 13d *yayāyāh* 20a defective verse, § 225 20c catalectic verse 30c *dyāyānam* 22a *gānam* 24d *adhā* 25b *yāyā* 30a *vācā* and as 20c 28a add *dhā* see also § 151 iii 29b *ghṛāntāh*, § 142 i 28c *vācānam*, § 130 i 31c omit *dhā*, § 152 i 33a heptasyllabic verse 30d 30a *-gopāh*, § 142 i.

47 See p 45 7d *drādhānam*. \*48 4a *dhā* 5c perhaps *carīrānt*, § 151 i 6b *cahṛāyā*.

49 1b *arā* 4c Rest at the fourth place 4d *kṛpānam* va, § 129 iii 5b *hyāntāh*, § 151 iii 7a irregular cadence, cf. 30 7a 7b *pṛīthāh*. 50. 5c *suddānti*, § 145 vi 6d *pīpāthā* 7b *pṛīthāh*. 51 2d *tuādh* 3c *nāyāyā*, § 139 iii 6a perhaps *vānu*, § 170 ii f 10d *śikṣāntāh*, § 140 iii. 62. 2a perhaps *pṛādrāye* 2b *vānā*, § 140 iii 4a probably requires emendation *yāyā tudā* gives an irregular opening and break. The verse may be easily corrected thus *yāyā abhiyā tudā indra* 5b probably *vānāntā* § 178 6a as 51 6a.

53 3a' *śisvāsam*, 4a *ca*, § 171 n, 7d *śasanvāmsah*, 8c *evā*  
 54 2d *matsuā*, 6d *śasanvāmsah*, 8a the verse requires correction  
 55 4a *sthā* 56 1c *dhāh*, 4a *tātra* 57 1c *naasatyā*, 4d  
*dāsuāmsam* \*58 1c *yō 'nūcānāh* \*59 6a, 7a, 7d hybrid verses

D VIII 60-103 [Short collections of the archaic and strophic periods]

60 6a probably *dhāh*, 7c *dahā* 9a, 9b, 9d probably *pāh*,  
 9c *ūryaam*, 10b *smā*, 12d probably *vasūvidah*, 13b *dāvīdhvat*,  
 § 169 iv, 13c, 14a perhaps *prādhīse*, § 167 v, 16a *tuā*, 16d *tsthā*,  
 20a *śūt* requires correction, probably to *vsāt*, 20d *sēdhā* 61 4a  
*āpīamī-satya* by the derivation, 5c *vasūvidam*, 8c hybrid verse  
*cahūā*, § 158 i, 9a *āvidhat*, 9c *tuāyā*, 10b *yādī*, 12a *yuyugmā*,  
 17a *śūh-śūh*, cf § 140 m, 17b *tāsvā*

62 1a *prā n*, § 171 n, 7-9 for the metre see Ch ix App No 53  
 63 1d, 4d, 5d extra verses, 2c *brāhmā* (plur) is probable, 4a perhaps  
*kaṭīdhāh*, § 166 vi a, 8a *n* 64 1a catalectic verse, 5a *trām*  
 65 4a *mahimānam*, § 170 n c, 5b *śānakīt*, 5c *ā hī*, 6a *tuā*  
 66 5c extended Vñātsthānā verse (*india* type), 6c *trām*, 6d *dāyisthah*,  
 7a *hāh*, cf § 140 m, 9c *kēna nā*, 13a *tuē*, § 173 v *ū* at the end of  
 the verse is only found here, § 160 iv 67 1a *trām*, 5c *sthā*, 15a *āpa*  
*sā*, 19c *asmābhya*

68 7d *hrstindam*, 9a *tuōtāsah*, 13b *pānthaam*, 14a *duā-duā*,  
 16a catalectic verse, 16b *a-arkse* this appears to be the original form  
 of the patronymic, § 151 i catalectic verse, 17a catalectic verse,  
 17b *indha-ūtē* 69 2d *dhenūndam*, 3b *śrīvanti*, 3c *devānaam*,  
 4b *arā*, 7d perhaps *śākhuh*, § 151 n, 8a heptasyllabic verse,  
 11a Epic Anustubh semi-cadence 70 1c *śśāsam*, 5b *śūh*,  
 6c *arā*, 7a catalectic verse, 7b *dirghāyu*, § 170 n f, 12c *dhānānaam*,  
 13c irregular break, suggesting emendation 71 4b perhaps *rayāyah*,  
 § 139 i, 4c *dāsuāmsam*, 6b irregular cadence, 6c *nayā*, 7c *mātiāya*,  
 § 151 m, 10b heptasyllabic verse, 13a *śāam*, 13d *tanūpāam*, § 142 i

72 2a catalectic verse, 6a *utā nū*, 6b *āsvavat*, 7a as 2a  
 10b *paripuanam*, § 170 n c, 13b *rōdāśyoh*, 17a perhaps *mītra*  
*varuna*, § 166 i 18a *utā nū* 74 1c *dūra*, 4b *gyāyistham*,  
 4c heptasyllabic verse, 10a *-pāam*, § 142 i, 13a catalectic verse,  
 14a *muam*, § 151 i 75 2a catalectic verse, 8a *devānaam*, 8b as 2a.  
 11c perhaps *ūrūh*, § 166 iv

76 7a *mīdhuh*, 12c *tanām*, § 135 b 77 11c *śāra* 78 2a  
*bharā*, 2c probably *hnanyuyī*, § 139 m, 10d *pūdh* 79 3a *tuām*,  
 4b *prithyāh*, § 151 m 7a *mṛtyūśukh*, 9a *śūc*, 9c *śāyan*, § 177 m

80 5a *hānta n nū*, § 171 n, 8a *bhaug*, § 151 i 81 2c probably  
 catalectic verse, but see § 149 m, 3b the same, or *mātiāsah*, § 151 m,  
 17 *tā*, 6a *bharā* 8a *n nū* 9a catalectic verse 82 1a *dhāā*,  
 4a *tā*, 6a *śūdh* 83 6b *ādhan* 84 1a *prāyistham* hepta-  
 syllabic verse, 6b *asmābhya* 85 1a, 9a *naasatyā*

88 5b *āntabhah* 89 4a *bharā*, 5d *dūam*, 6d *jāntuam*  
 90 2b *śānakīt*, § 175, 2c *yāya*, 4b *bhāī* (plur), 5c hypersyllabic  
 verse, § 224 but it may easily be corrected to *trām vtrā hāms*,  
 6c catalectic verse \*91 1b § 120, 1d, 1e *tuā*, 3a Epic Anustubh

semi-cadence To appear in § 129 II, but some correction is required  
To 83 3a.

92. 1a *plantam* § 142 11a 7b *elynaam* 6a a 7a *tim a*  
*entrestham*, § 170 11b, 8a *awarānaam* § 170 11c 9b probably *pura*  
*plural* 30b *elynaam* 31a *indrāhi* 93 3b *dārat* § 168 11 the  
 verse may readily be corrected to *gumad ylamad dārat* 6c *at*  
 21a *abhi d* 71b *yahi* *malinaam* 33a read *tim hi* *eytrahan* *eam*  
 § 171 11 33b *awarānaam* 93 9a *entalectle* verse or read *upāstha d*  
 6a *atd nā* 8a *adyā* *dh dānaam* 10a etc. *tim nā*

05 7a *lī* *āḥ* for the metre see § 94 viii. 08 2b *śīna* (plur)  
3b *cakra* after the third syllable 3d *śrīṣṭa* 4a etc. *śū* 5a *bhūṣā*  
6d *śū* 9d *śū* 10b *śū* 10d *śū* 11b *śū* 12a *śū*  
12c *śū* 13c *śū* 14d 16a irregular breaks 20a Vṛāṣṭhāna  
verse (indica type) 20b *śū* 21a emendation seems required

97 3a *suakh* 101 for the numerous hypersyllabic verses of which this stands first see § 2-1 13a caesura after the third syllable 14a *tuit* 98 4b hepta syllabic verse b extended pentad verse 8a *ular* § 151 i also the word *dirē-dirē* probably belongs to this verse 9b perhaps *urūyuz* § 166 iv 10c *nī nī* 89 1a *kūkh* cf. § 140 1b *vayr* § 148 4c *ai* \*100 3a *kharrat* 10b the interpretation is doubtful perhaps *duakh* then irregular break and Jagati cadence 101 3a perhaps *mūtra caruna* § 166 i 7b *ktitū* 7c *paakatyū* 9c *eriyin kh* 9c 10a catalectic verses 10c *aurūyakh* cf. § 173 ii hybrid verse or read *derūn* cf. § 151 iii 13b *rōh* 7 13c *aiōd im*

102. 4a aīren § 171 i a catalectic verse 10a rurepam  
10b kudpam 11b jiyiyithak 14a tēptam 18a tūā. 103. 1c āpa  
āā 2a catalectic verse 3l cūrk 1a 4b damit § 178 5a hyperyllable  
verse § 224 or oult rīyam § 15<sup>o</sup> i 6c extended Pentad verse  
§ 227 11a probably requiring correction 6c catalectic verse 10a  
pīyiytham 10b four syllables are wanting at the end of this verse  
as yakistamam 10c rāthitnam 12a irregular cadence 12b catalectic  
verse

### Mandala IV

A. IX 1-67 [This large collection of Gāyatri hymns does not correspond to any collection or set of collections addressed to other deities. A few of the hymns may have belonged originally to such collections as those of *Ṛgveda* or *Kuṣika* the majority must be imitations of these, and from the regularity of their structure cannot be earlier than the normal period.]

1. 4a arpa 9b strindak 3. 9b derchhuak 4. 4a pchitrahak  
 § 178 6b jial 7a arpa 5. 10 prinda \*8a, 9a, 11c Eplo Anusubh  
 semi-cadenoc. 6. 7b strindak § 140 8. 8b pthiridh 9a tuu  
 9. 4b naitio jival 11. 6b strindak 12. 3b catalectio verso.  
 13. 6a kyandak, § 151 iii. 14. 4b iduud. 15. 1a perhaps read dhiy  
 aia 5c sindhnaam. 16. 1a giratidhak § 142 i 1b perhaps aisaak,  
 § 151 i 7b heptasyllable also perhaps read pchamnak 19. 6b  
 bhayam, § 151 iii.

21. 2a perhaps *abhiyāpāh*, § 167 in 5c catallactic verse 6a *rādhia*.

22 7b *vāsū* (plui) 24 1c *śrinānāh*, 7b catalectic verse, unless we read *mādhuaḥ*, § 151 n, or restore *mādhunah* 26 3a -ā 'han, § 145 vi 28 2b *devēbhrah*, 6c *devavīh* probably, § 166 vii 29 1a perhaps *prā dhāā asya*, cf 30 1a, 6a *ā indo* 30 2a the reading is doubtful, but recurs in 107 26b 31 2a *prthivāh*, 2c *vāyānaam* 32 1b *maghāvanah* or *maghāvanah*, 6b *māhya* 34 3a *vīśanam*, § 170 ii c 36 1a *rāthra* 39 1a *asū*, 5b *āthā*

40 1c perhaps *vīpam śumbhanti*, 3a perhaps *nū na indo rayīm mahām*, 6c *vīśann*, § 177 iii 41 4c *āśvat* 42 2b *devēbhrah*, 6b *āśvat* 43 6c *rāsū* 44 6a *adyā* 46 4c *śrinā* 47 2a *kāntuā*, 2c irregular cadence 48 3a *tuā* 53 1a catalectic verse, 3c *rugā* 55 4b *abhātrā* 56 3b requires correction, perhaps *kanā nā*, omitting *jārām* but see § 135 a 57 4b *utā*, *prthivāh* 58 1a etc *mandi* is probable, § 178 59 3c *sīdā* 60 2b *āthā*, 3a probably omit *asīyodāt*

61 2a long fifth syllable, 13a *ūpa sū*, 19c probably *devavīh*, § 166 vii, 23b *mādhuaḥ* 62 3c *asmābhya*, 4b *griṣthāḥ*, § 142 i, 8a *sā*, 20c *devēbhrah*, 24b *asā* 63 18b *āśvat* 64 10b *kavīnām*, 11b *devavīh*, 26a *utā*, 28a *dauidyutātā*, § 139 i 65 2b, 3b *devēbhrah*, 5c *ihā sū*, 26c *śrinānāh*, 28c, 29c, 30c *pāntam*, § 142 iii a 66 18d extra verse, 26c *hāri candrah*, 28a perhaps *aśuaḥ* § 151 i, 30c *māla* 67 10a *ajāsua*, § 145 ii b, 25c *mām*, § 151 i, 27d extra verse, 28a irregular cadence, 30 the metre is of the type 11 9 9, but is perhaps not so intended

**B IX 68-97** [Only a few of these hymns have the metrical variations or other marks characteristic of the archaic and strophic periods. Otherwise the collection both in the smoothness of its rhythm and in the equal use of Tristubh and Jagatī metre is closely akin to the second Mandala and the later part of the fifth.]

68 1c perhaps *banhī-sādah*, § 178, 10d *dhattā* 69 2a *ūpa*, § 171 iv, 8b *āśvat*, § 168 ii 70 1a catalectic verse but SV *duduhire* 71 2b *asurīyam* is required by Vedic usage, see § 135 Addenda, 4d *śrinānti*, 6c *ā im*, 7c extended Pentad verse, probably to be corrected 72 1c caesura after third syllable, 9c *māsvā* 74 4c *prīnanti*, 8b *sasanvān* 75 2d perhaps *trītyam*, § 178, 5a *dhanuā*, § 147, 5d *codayā* 76 1c *ātrah*, § 151 ii, 3c *pīnvā*, 5d *tuotāyah* 77 3b *dhanuantu*, § 147 78 1c *tānuā*, 4b *suarjīt* 79 1a *dhanuantu*, 1b *svāntāsah bhādrivesu*, § 179, 1c the rhythm is irregular, and requires correction, 3a, 3b *ātrāh*

80 3d *ātra* 81 3b *bhāvā* 82 5c extended Tristubh verse 83 2c *pavitāram*, § 179 84 5b *śrinanti suavīdam* 85 4d *mādhuaḥ*, 5c *ātra*, 10b *griṣthām*, § 142 i, 11c, 12d extended Tristubh verses

86 2b *rāthra*, 3a *hyānāh*, § 151 iii catalectic verse, 9b *drauḥ*, 15a *sā*, 16a *prā*, 34d *dhāna*, 41d *asmābhya*, 42a *sā*, 42c *duā*, 43a Rest at the fourth place, 45a *āpra*, 47d *svānāh*, 48b *dhāvā*, 48d catalectic verse

87 1a *dravā*, 5b for the caesura see § 214 iii, 7a *svānāh*, 7d *gāah*, § 142 ii, 8b *ūrūē*, § 145 ii b, 9a *smā* 88 1a Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type) *tūbhya*, 2a *bhūrsāt*, § 178, 4a perhaps *mahā*,

§ 19 iv but of the rhythm of 7a 1c Rest at the fifth place 89 1a  
 pad ā 7a mad thuch § 151 ii 7c sagdh 90 1a rēdāyāh § 173 ii  
 1d rē ā (plur) 1d amēdhya 1d pātī

91 1a rēdhā 21 arāt 4b ārahā 1b pā-dāh 6a Pentad  
 verse 6d jūd 92 1a arāt 4b arāt (plur), a nā 93 1c the  
 regular rhythm suggests *emendation* but the hymn is one of Gōtama  
 Nodhas 1d dā 7d arāt in māt; 1b caesura after the third  
 syllable māt-pyā 1 11 1c Vrat dādhā verse 94 7c māt-pyā,  
 § 151 iii, or Pentad verse a 11m, 11 hī 95 ab ut § 148 vi,  
 96 4b arāt dy with r can be doubtful in the *Uggrā* proper and  
 perhaps a nā should be read for the caesura see § 173 ii 8d irayā  
 9b rē ā 1d arāt rē ā 1 3 ii 1b arāt 7c arāt (§ 173 i) is  
 improbable either as māt-pyā or as a hybrid verse read

97 1d arāt (plur) 7c arāt dādhā 7d jūt 4b kinot  
 11a māt-pyā (fem) 11b arāt (plur) 16d 17c dāh 1d 17d māt-pyā  
 § 170 ii 1ba ya 19d arāt 9c dādhānti 21b arāt 1c  
 amēdhya 96a perhaps d rē hāh cf § 173 ii 6d rē 19 1c  
 dāyāyāh read dāyāh d kadh 7c māt-pyā § 168 i 3c 36c  
 read 40d arāt 13c perhaps read jūt dādhā 4b arāt  
 43c 51a ukhī 7 16c iii 1c dādhā

C IX 98-114 (1 lyric hymn if the archaic and strophic periods,  
 with which the editor has included with good reason the Anu (abhi,  
 Pentad and Vrat) hymns.]

98. 1b arāt 1b rēdhānti § 166 iv a arāt d āyānt  
 2d 3a perhaps ākrah § 111 i irregular cadence 8a heptasyllabic  
 verse 5b pātīhā § 111 iii a 9 arāt hāh § 142 i 99 4c 11  
 1 1 rēdhāh 100. 1a ukhī § 16 iii 101 3a ukhī § 16 ii  
 10c arāt 11d arāt § 166 iv 103 6b d rēdhāh 104. 2c  
 perhaps d rēdhāh § 173 ii 1a arāt hāh 6a māt-pyā 105 2c  
 d rēdhāh 4b dādhāh 6a hāh hāh 106 1a dēhā

107 2d rāntāh 3a arāt 9a Rest at the fourth place gādhānt  
 § 142 ii ākrah 91 ākrah 9c catalectic verse 108. 4a d rēdhāh  
 6a 1pā 10c arāt 131 a nāyāt § 142 iii b 109 7b arāt  
 16a arāt 171 arāt 18b irregular cadence 21a d rēdhāh  
 22b arāt 110 6b arāt, § 166 iv 9a dāh 7d § 161 ii  
 10a requires correction § 223 12c arāt hāh § 169 iii 111. 1a  
 ādhānt § 139 i catalectic verse 1c arāt 2a pātī pādhāh

\*112 1a rē ā § 171 v 1c the refrain is borrowed from ix 100 4b.

113 1a catalectic verse 9b māt-pyā 3b hyperasyllabic verse  
 probably omit dāh § 152 i 5b heptasyllabic verse 6b perhaps rēdhāh  
 chādhāh, as a long fifth syllable is very unusual in the full cadence  
 of Eplo Anu (abhi) hyperasyllabic verse the Sandhi combination of  
 two verses (§ 110) is not probable the omission of māt-pyā is perhaps on  
 the whole the best course.

### Mandala V

A. X 1-9 [The Agni hymns 1 3 6 show frequent Pentad  
 verses and other variations characteristic of the strophic period  
 cf. x 46 and see § 249 i]

1 For the metre see § 249 1; 1d, 6b, 6c Pentad verses, 2a *ródasiyoh*, § 174 11, 3b *trātīyam*, § 178, 5b caesura after the third syllable, but cf § 152 1, 5c *prāti-andhim devā-devasya*, § 152 11, 6a *tū*, 7d *vahō-sahasia*

2 3d *sá*, 7a *tuā*, 7c *putryānam pravivān* is probable here  
3 1a Rest at the fifth place, 1c *bhaasā*, § 142 v, 4c *suśasā*  
5 1c *namōh*, § 151 11

6 For the metre see § 249 1, 1c, 6c, 6d Virātsthānā verses, 1a, 1b 2b, 2c, 2d, 3c, 3d, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 7b Pentad verses, 2a catalectic Bhārgavī verse, 3a Gautamī verse Thus the decasyllabic verses in this hymn are more than half the whole number, and in doubtful cases the preference may be given to this interpretation, 1c *jyēstha* more probably, 2c *sakhyā* more probably, 2d *ātya* more probably, 6b *sāptvantah*, § 168 11, 7b *hāvya* more probably, but see § 136 11  
7 1a *suastī*, 2a *tūbhya* 8 2b *śimvān*, § 168 11, 5c irregular rhythm \*9 7c *jōk*

B \*X 10-19 [The hymns 14-18 are clearly of the latest date as is also 19, which is unconnected by subject On the other hand the position of hymns 10-13 is open to question, both on metrical and on linguistic grounds]

10 Metre and language are closely allied to those of x 95, 1b *purū* as acc sing is very doubtful, see § 160 1, 4c *āpīa*, 5d *prithvī*, § 173 1, 7d *rathīa*, 8d *vrhā*, 10c *barbhā*, 12a requires emendation perhaps *nā te tanvām* || *tanūā*, cf § 135 b, 13a and 13b also require emendation perhaps read *batō bata* || *asī yama nā evā*, *tāva mānah* ||, 14c for *tāva* read *te* 11-13 See p 45 11 2a *āpīa*, 3a *sā*, 5d *sasanvān*, 6a *īayā*, 6c *su-apas-*, 8d perhaps interchange *ātrā* and *vītāt*, 9c *rahā* 12 1d *pratiān*, 2a Rest at the fifth place, 2d irregular break, 4a as 2d 13 3c Rest at the fifth place, 4a *derēbhāh*

14 2c *yātrā*, 3d *svāhā 'nīe*, § 145 v1, or *svāhā anyē*, 5c catalectic Bhārgavī verse, § 227 11 b, 8d Rest at the fifth place, 9a *utā* twice, 10a *dravā*, 10a, 11a *suśnau*, § 145 v1, 11c *tūbhīam*, 11d *svastī*, 15c *idām* should perhaps be omitted 15 3c, 4a *barbhā-sādah*, § 178, 7b *dhattā*, 7c *putrēbhāh*, 7d *yacchatā*, 9a perhaps *devātā*, 11b *sadatā*, 13b *vulmā*, 14c *svāājāh*, § 151 11 16 3b, 3c *gacchā*, 3b *drām* or *dyām*, 5a *srjā*, 14d long fifth syllable exceptionally perhaps *agnīm sū* 17 5b *sā*, 9c *sahasā-aghām*, 13a appears to be a dimeter verse perverted by the recollection of 12a omit *shannāh*. 18 1b *suāh*, 2d *bhavatā*, 8a *īrsvā*, 11 cf 1 164 42, 13a *tuāt* 19 6b semi-cadence of Epic Anustubh this is therefore the third verse of an Anustubh stanza, the first two being similar to those of stanza 8

C X 20-26 [The Vimada hymns are of a very early type, see § 201]

20 1 an imperfect quotation from x 25 1, 2a emendation is required perhaps omit *agnīm* (§ 152 1) and read *bhujām* but see § 130 iv, 2d extra verse, 3c *śāyīndantah*, cf. *śūcīdan*, § 151 11, 5c *sādmā* (plur), 6c *vāsūmantam*, § 168 11, 8b perhaps *svūh* 21 etc

For the metre see Ch ix, App. No. 66, 4b *adhasāraṇa*, § 177 iii To the rhythm is influenced by that of trimeter verse.

22 For the metre see § 243 1a Virāṣṭhānā verse (*indra* typo) 1c *frīṣāma*, 4a *vdalasya*, 5b *vādhāṇi* (§ 146 ii) is very doubtful, 7a requires correction as *ā no vādhā indra pṛkṣa adyā* 9a double Rest, § 226 iv a: perhaps *dri tām nā* || 11a extended Virāṣṭhānā verse 12a, 13a as 1a, 13c *śāṇam* 13d *dhenūdam*.

23 1a extended Virāṣṭhānā verse 1b *hāriṣāma* 1c *śudhāru*, § 151 iii *bhūnt* 2d perhaps *kṣarāṇi*, § 151 i *ddasasya* (il.) is quite uncertain 3c Rest at the fifth place 4a *śi sūti* 4c as 1a 4d *vdalāh* § 142 v 5a Rest at the fourth place with irregular break emendation is probably required 6d as 1a *gopāh* § 142 i 7b as 3c rather than as *indra carṣā*

24. 2a catalectic verse, unless we read *udhāh* § 151 iii 3c for the cadence of 21 7c, \*5b *samīcyā* § 130 iv 25. 1c *dāha* 5c the rhythm here, as also in 6c 8c, 9c, 9c is that of trimeter verse, cf. 31 7c, 24 3c To *śādhā rāṇa*, § 177 iii 7c *īpā*, § 175 L 26 For the metre see § 191 2a *tūt* 4c *maṇḍam* is uncertain in this hymn 7c semi-cadence of Epio *ānustubh* perhaps read *prā dādhod*

D X 27-84. [The small groups of hymns here included are generally of a type which stands in contrast with that of the archaic and strophic periods without having the specific character of the Kūṣa hymns. It is very probable that many of the hymns assigned to the cretic period really belong to the popular Rīgveda, but maintain artificially the linguistic features of the Rīgveda proper.]

\*27 \*28 See p. 45 \*27 6c Rest at the fifth place 11d read: for in the second time § 178 18a *vīṣu-āṣāh* \*28 1c hybrid verse 12a the text gives the hiatus correctly

29 2d *saccedān*, 4a *śudhāh* 5a *vayā* 8d *śumati*, § 130 iii 30 9c *āśādhān* as *ā-āṣādh* viii 68 16b 11c *śādhāma*, § 148 vi 12c *śādhā su-apat* 13a read *dyāṣṭr dāṣṭrām* 14c *dāṣṭānā*, 31. 3c *ānādhā*, § 158 i 4d ad 6b Rest at the fourth place 9a *ṣṭām* § 142 i, or Rest at the fifth place 10d *śamādhā* 32. 4c Bhārgavi verse 5b two syllables are wanting after the caesura perhaps supply *vādhā* 5d caesura after the third syllable *śādhādhā* \*6-9 see p. 45 \*7b *prā oṣ* \*9c *ad* 33 1b *śmā* \*34. 8c *nd*, § 175 ii 11d *ad*

35 2d *śādhā* 7b *śmā* 10b catalectic verse 14a *śādhā* 36. 2a *śādhā* 8b *dāṣṭāyāma*, cf. § 174 ii 11a *adyā* 14a read *prādhā* 14b read *śādhā* 37 2d *śādhā* twice, § 170 ii d 5a catalectic verse 7a *śādhā* 7d *śmā* 8b *bhādhāntāma*, § 142 v 10a *bhādhā* 12a *śādhā*, § 158 i.

39 4c *śādhā* 5b *dādhā* 6b *ndhā* 10a *śādhā*, § 145 ii b 10c *śādhāntāma* 14b Rest at the fifth place. 40. 1a *śādhāntāma*, § 148 iii a 2a *śādhāntā*, § 170 ii c 5d *śādhāntā* § 158 ii 5d *śādhāntā* 11a *śādhāntā*, § 158 i 11b perhaps *śādhāntā*, § 170 iii 12d *śādhāntā*.

42. 1c *śādhāntā* 1d *śādhāntā* 2b *śādhāntā* 3d *śādhāntā*, § 166 iv 5d *śādhāntā* 43. 2a *śādhāntā* 7b *śādhāntā*, § 151 ii 44. 4c *śādhāntā* *śādhāntā* *śādhāntā* § 173 v 7b catalectic verse perhaps *śādhāntā* cf. ix 70 1a 8b *śādhāntā*.

45 2a *śādhāntā* 3b *śādhāntā* (plur) 4c for *śādhāntā* restore *śādhāntā*



8b Pentad verse, 8d *draūh*, 9a *adyā*, 10a, 10b *bhajā*, 11b *vasū* (plui), 12a *narāam*, 12d *dhattā* 46 For the metre see § 249 i it suggests for this hymn an earlier date than its neighbours can lay claim to The Pentad verses are 1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, 2b, 5a, 5b, 5c, 6a, 6c, 7a, whilst 5d, 6b, 6d, 7c, 7d are Virātsthānā verses Hence the Pentad hymn seems to have consisted of 5 double stanzas, thus corresponding in length to the hymns in 1 65–70 whilst 3, 4, 8–10 may be Tristubh stanzas appended later 6d Sandhi at the caesura, 7c the interpretation is doubtful Jagatī cadence 47 2c *carikītam*, 3c *śrutāsm*, 5a *āsvavantam*, § 168 ii, 8a *tuā*

48–50 These hymns are almost alone in the Rīgveda in combining frequent Rests with Jagatī cadence but cf x 77, 78 48 1c *māam* (§ 151 i) is doubtful perhaps Rest at the fifth place, 6a *duā-duā*, 7b *abhī*, § 167 iii, 9a *bhuut*, § 142 iii b 49 1a *daam*, § 142 iii a, oi Rest at the fourth place, 1b *māhya*, 1d extended Virātsthānā verse, 2a *māam*, § 151 i double Rest, § 226 iv b, 2b *apāam*, 3b, 5c as 1d, 6b *vitram* 'va, § 129 iii probably as 1d rather than *daasam*, § 151 i, 6d *rocandm*, § 130 iv, 9b *prithvīm*, 10b *trāsta ā-*, 11a Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type) *vive*, cf § 140 iii, 11c *vīsvā it*, oi Rest at the fifth place

50 1b perhaps *vīsva-ābhūve* (Grassmann), 2a *sā*, 2b *carikītam* extended Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type), 2c hybrid verse, 3a Virātsthānā verse (*indra* type), 3c for the caesura see § 214 iii *asurīyāya*, 4a as 2b, 4c Rest at the fourth place then perhaps *cyautanāh*, § 149 iv, 4d *jyāyītha* extended Virātsthānā verse, but see § 149 iii, 5a probably extended Virātsthānā verse, but see § 148 i, 5b extended Gautamī verse, rather than as in § 149 iii, 5c the cadence requires correction, perhaps *vardhātā ca nah*, 6c probably *pūtarām*, § 149 iii, 6d as 4d, 7b *vāsūnaam*

\*51–53 See p 45 \*51 2b *tanvāh*, § 135 b, 2c *kū'āha*, 4c as 2b, 5a *ēhī*, 5d *vāhā*, 6d *jūyāh*, § 140 iii, 8c *pūrusam*, § 178, 9a hybrid verse but see § 130 ii \*52 1a *sāstanā*, 1c *biūtā*, 4a *māam*; 5c *bāhuōh* \*53 4c the opening requires emendation, 5b *gāvajātāh*, § 142 ii, 5c perhaps *āmhaḥ*, cf vi 3 1d, 6c *vayatā*, 6d *bhavā*, 8b *tīsthatā*, 11c *vīsvāhā*

54 3a *ū* 55 2c irregular double Rest, § 227 iii c, 5d *hāh*, § 140 iii (Addenda), 8d requires correction 56 2b *asmābhya*, 2d *sudm*, \*4d extended Pentad verse, \*5b catalectic verse

\*57 3c *pitṛndam*, 4c *jīók* \*59 3a *abhī sū*, 3b *draūh*, 4b *nū*, 5c extended Virātsthānā verse, 6c *jīók*, 10a *īayā* *gāam*, § 142 ii, 10c *īānāh* \*60 6d *rāyann*, § 177 iii, 8e perhaps *ārīsta-*, § 167 iv

61 [This extraordinary hymn has a metrical unity which stands in striking contrast to its discontinuity of subject it has all the marks of the archaic period, and yet a parallel hymn can hardly be found amongst the archaic collections Alone in this part of the Rīgveda it is dissociated in structure from its companion hymn An Iranian origin has been suggested by the proper name *Nābhānēdistha* in 18b ] 1a *īaūdanam*, § 149 iii, but more probably Virātsthānā verse, 1b *sāciām*, 1c hybrid verse, 2a *dābhva*, 2c Virātsthānā verse, with irregular cadence, 3b *sāciā*, 3d *āsīmīta* Virātsthānā verse, 4d *nāyīsam*, § 142 iii b, 7c for the caesura see § 205 i c, 8b *pārā at*, 9c *sānitā*

with hiatus the first time or Rest at the fifth place 11c Virāṭsthānā verse but see § 149 iv 13a *idn nī asya* is perhaps most probable 14d perhaps read *śrudhī hōtar* || *ṛṭṣya hōtar adhrūk* 15a as 1a 16a Virāṭsthānā verse 10c *śl* 17a as 2c, 17d *ṛṇḍyāṣṭha* 20c *īrdhūd*, *śṛḍyāṣṭh* 21a *ādha* \*2a *ādha tudm* Virāṭsthānā verse (Indra type) 23a a series of defective verses are found towards the end of the hymn, the others being 24c \*6a, 27a, 27d these require emendation 25a *gdāi* Rest at the fifth place 26b *su uktaś* 27b *bhūth* \*7c Rest at the fourth place 62. 8c *śatdnam*, § 145 ii b 9b *dirō va*, § 129 ii.

63. 2c *śhā adbhūth* *ia āyājē*, § 178 10c *śu arūdm* 11c *devdhūi* § 130 iv 13a *nīrtuā* § 151 iii 14a *arathā* 15a *śuastī* Rest at the fifth place 16a *śṛḍyāṣṭhā* 10c *śl* 64. 7a catalectic verse 10c *rdthasas pttik* § 151 iii 12b *ādudā* 12c *pṛayā*.

65. 2a *indrā-agnī* 5a *śikṛ* 9b *indrā rāyā* 14b *ṛṇḍyāṣṭhā*, § 142 i 15b caesura after the third syllable, or read *śīrḍas yē* 15d *pāṭā* 66. 1a *bṛhde-śaravān*, § 151 iii 4b Rest at the fifth place 1<sup>st</sup> d *brdhū* (plur.) 14c *ētā*

67. 4a *dudbhyan*. 68. 2a caesura after the third syllable 3a *śīdhū-aryā* 9a, 9b *śl* 10b for the caesura see § 205 i c 12b perhaps *pārūth* § 145 ii d or Rest at the fourth place 12c *śl*.

69. 5c *śō śōro va* § 129 ii 5d *nā* 1<sup>st</sup> c, 12d catalectic verse 12d *tūṣhā* 70. 1d *bhār* 2d *devēbhā* 8b *śūṭā* *śōndm* 11a *rahā*.

\*71. 4c *idd śasamā*, 7d probably *śndmā* omitting *u*. \*72. 8d *śat* § 145 iii.

73. 2b *pūrd* *ndv* § 160 i 3a Pentad verse 4b *ndmā* 6d *hfid* *io śōnd* 9b *utd* for the ninth syllable see § 17 i 9c *pṛthivā*.

74. 1a *śīśūnām* 1b Gautamī verse \*d *śuā* 3a Rest at the fifth place, rather than *caam* *anīrtānām* 3c Gautamī verse, § 226 iii b in the cadence probably *śīdhāyāntā* (§ 151 iii), cf. ii 3 8a 3d *śaravān* exceptionally § 151 ii 4b the rhythm is easily made normal by reading *śōmantam* *śōndm* *śhī* *yē* *śīrḍas* 4c irregular cadence 6b probably *nāma*, giving a Virāṭsthānā (Indra) verse.

75. 1a *śl* 1c *trayādhā* 3a *bhāṣūdhā* *u* with Sandhi, § 130 b 6b *śuārtud*, § 130 v *id* 6d *mekṣṇud* 8d perhaps *madhāṣṇud*, § 160 v and vi a 76. 1a *śṛḍam* 2a *śṛḍyāṣṭhā* 3b catalectic verse 3c *śṛḍṇarē*, § 149 iii 4a *hātā* 4d perhaps *śaravān*, cf. § 173 ii 5d *arā* 8b *śuāntā*.

77. 76 For the metro see §§ 52 227 ii, and 250 ii. 77. 6-8 Triṣṭubh stanzas 7a Virāṭsthānā verse 7b *maridbhūdhā*. 78. 1a, 6c extended Virāṭsthānā verses 1c see § \*27 iii d 1d *hṛṇḍam*, 2a, \*b Jagatī verses so too 3a, 6a, 6b 3b *agnīndm* 3c *śaravāntā* with irregular cadence, § 168 ii c 3d *pṛṇḍam* 4a *rdthānām* *yē* *rdh* with Sandhi 5, 7 Jagatī stanzas 5a *ṛḍyāṣṭhā* 8 Triṣṭubh stanza 8a probably omit *devdhā* (§ 152 i) and read with Rest at the fifth place.

79. 3a Rest at the fourth place 5b *dyāṣṭhā*, § 13 i iv, a syllable is wanting at the end of the verse 5d *pṛatā*. 80. 1b *śrāṭā* 2c Virāṭsthānā verse 4a *daat*, § 142 iii a 4c *havyām*, § 136 hence Virāṭsthānā verse 7c *pṛā* *va*.

\*81. \*a add at the end *kathāśl*. \*82. 2d *śaptarṣī* 4b hybrid verse. \*83. 1a *śrāṭā* § 169 vi, 3b requires correction perhaps

*sapātñān* for *sathūn* *jahī*, 5c irregular cadence, requiring correction, 5d *suā*, 7b *ādha* \*84. 2a *agnīr'va*, § 129 ii, 4c Rest at the fifth place *tuayā*, 6a *ābhūtā*, § 145 iv

**E** \*X 85-114. [In the single hymns which conclude the tenth Mandala those which belong to the popular Rigveda predominate but they only occur in groups on account of incidental agreement in the metre and number of stanzas. The first three hymns are of very unusual length.]

\*85 7c *draūh*, 11c perhaps *śōtaram*, § 149 iii, 12b *viānōh*, 20c *siōām*, 22b *tuā*; 30c, 31a *radhvāh*, § 135 b, 34a perhaps omit *kātukam etad*, 38c *pātibhiah* is doubtful, § 144, 40b -e u- with Sandhi, § 130 i, 44c Rest at the fourth place *siōā*, 45a *mīdhuah*, 46b *svaśruām*, § 146 iii, 46c hypersyllabic opening, requiring correction, cf § 191 iii.

\*86 [Although the fifth verse in each stanza is a refrain, there are only slight indications of the Epic Anustubh rhythm, as in the semicadence in 10a, 14a, 15a, 20a, 23c] 2c *nā ū na* 'not' with hiatus, 4c *suā*, § 145 vi, 10a *smā*, 12c *āpra*

\*87 [Although of late date, the Tristubh verses of this hymn are free from contamination, and the Anustubh verses have the earlier rhythm, see § 198 ii] 2a *spisā*, 2d *dhatsuā*, 7c *jahī*, 8a *sā*, 10d *tredhā* exceptionally, § 140 iii, 12b, 13c hypersyllabic verses, §§ 224, 217, 14a hybrid verse, 15c *śārava 'rehanu* with Sandhi, § 130 i, 16a probably *paśrusyena*, 16b *āsvyena*, 19c *dahā*, 22b *sahasya*, § 135 a, 23b *smā*

\*88 1a *pāantam*, § 142 iii a, 6c, 9b require correction see § 217, 10c *trayidhā*, 12d *āpa*, 15a, 16a *duē*, 17b perhaps *yajñāntīyoh*, § 173 ii

89 2b *vāthra*, 2d *tvīsiā*, 5b *śimvān* 6d *vīlī* (plur), 8b *pāriā* (plur), 8d Pentad verse, 9d *vīśanam*, § 170 ii c, 10d read *hāvio yōge*, 13d probably *ānu āpah*, for the caesura see § 205 i c, 17b Rest at the fourth place

\*90 [Very late rhythm, § 198 iii.] 2a *pūruśah*, § 178, 4a hypersyllabic verse, or combination of *ūdhvāh* and *ut*, § 130 i, 6a *pūrusena*, 8c *vāyavyān*, § 135 a, 11a as 6a, 11d *pūda*, § 174 i a, *ucyate*, § 170 i

91 7b *trstū*, § 160 i, 8d *nā 'nām*, § 145 vi, *tuāt*, 13d catalectic verse 92 4d *āthā*, 9a *rudarāya*, § 149 ii, 9c *su-āvān*, 14b Rest at the fourth place

93 For the metre see § 242' v, 5a *apāam*, 7b *rāthasas pātih*, § 151 iii, 9a Rest at the fourth place, 9c *sahā*, 10a *dhaatam*, § 142 iii a, 10d *rāyāh utā* with Sandhi, § 130 i, 12a Pentad verse, 14b hybrid verse, 15b *tānuah* \*94. 1a catalectic verse, 5d *pirū*, see § 160 perhaps the adverb, 9a *hāri*, § 174 i b, 10b Rest at the fifth place, 11a Rest at the fourth place, 12a *evā*, 14a extended Tristubh verse

\*95 [Companion hymn to x 10, with several archaic variations] 3a A. Ludwig completes the verse by reading *asakta*, 4a perhaps *sū ā vāsū*, 4c two syllables are wanting perhaps *yāsmi*, § 178, 5a, 5b *smā*, 5b *āvatyar*, 6a *śrāyinih*, 7a caesura after the third syllable, 8c *smā*, 9b Rest at the fifth place, rather than *hṣavanībhīh*, § 151 i, 9c *tanvāh*,

§ 13. *b* or hybrid verse 10b *āpā* 10c *śānta* 10d *śrāṭā* 11a *gāra*  
*pīthāya* § 142 ii extended Trīṣubh verse 1<sup>o</sup>d *śākhā yād* 13c Rest  
 at the fourth place or *śākhā* for *te* 98 3a, 7d *śā* 10a *śāntā* 11b  
 extended Trīṣubh verse 13b *śākhā*

\*97 [Very late hymn.] 7a *āśvārathā* § 168 ii 10a *parīśādhā*  
 § 142 i 10b *śāntā* with *śā* (Grāman) § 129 ii 13a heptasyllabic  
 verse 14c, 15c 19c catalectic verses 20a as 13a. \*98 2b *śāntā*,  
 10c *śāntā*, § 133 b.

99 4c § 10a ii 1b Virāṭāthā verse, rather than *śāntā*  
 § 149 iii 4c irregular cadence 5d for the caesura see § 205 i c  
 6b Rest at the fourth place with irregular break 7d Virāṭāthā  
 verse 8a *śā* 8b Pentad or Gāntamī verse 8c Pentad verse 8d as 7d  
 11c Rest at the fourth place 1<sup>o</sup>c *śāntā* exceptionally § 195 iii b  
 or read *śāntā śāntā śāntā*.

100. 1a *śākhā* 2a *śā bhārā* 6a *śā* 7a *śākhā* § 158 i 9b  
 catalectic verse or read *yugāntā* 10b *śākhā* 10c *śā* 11b § 120  
 12c *śākhā*

\*101 \*102. See p. 46 \*101 3b Rest at the fifth place, rather than  
 short eighth syllable 7a Pentad verse 8b *śāntā* (plur) 10b *śāntā*  
 § 170 iii caesura after the third syllable 1<sup>o</sup>d *śākhā* *śāntā*

\*102. 2a *śāntā* 3a *śākhā* 4b *śā* 7d *śākhā* § 1 i ii 11b *śāntā*

\*103. 1c, 2a for the caesura see § 205 i c 9c *śākhā* 1a hybrid  
 verse 8a *śākhā* § 149 iii b probably *śāntā śāntā* § 151 iii  
 10a *śākhā* 11a *śāntā* verse 1<sup>o</sup>b *śā* § 151 ii 12c *śākhā*

104. 3d *śākhā*.  
 105 For the metro see § 214 ii 1a Virāṭāthā verse rather than  
*śāntā* § 149 iii the verse ends *śākhā* *śā* cf 10c 1c represents a  
 trimeter verse Rest at the fifth place then *śāntā* cf. § 151 i  
 stanzas 3 to 6 see § 211 iii 8a two syllables are wanting perhaps  
 supply *śāntā* before the caesura 10c *śāntā* Virāṭāthā verse rather than  
*śāntā* § 149 ii 11a *śāntā*. 106. Numerous duals combined with  
*śā* § 190 i b 7a, 7d for the caesura see § 213 ii 7c *śā* as combined  
 § 122 10d *śāntā*.

\*107 6b perhaps *śāntā* § 173 ii 10a *śāntā* probably cf.  
 § 145 ii b \*108. see p. 46 4a *śāntā* (1 sing), § 158 i *śāntā*  
 5a *śāntā* § 121 c 5b *śāntā* *śāntā* 6d *śāntā* 10a *śā* 10d, 11a *śā*  
 11a Rest at the fifth place rather than *śāntā* but see § 151 i

110. 1c *śākhā* 4d *śāntā* *śāntā* 5d *śāntā* *śāntā*  
 8d *śāntā* 10a *śāntā* 11c by Sandhi *śāntā* *śāntā*, not as in  
 the text. 111 1b *śāntā* 3a *śāntā*, § 146 ii 10c Virāṭāthā  
 verse. 112. 1c Rest at the fourth place 2a Rest at the fifth place  
 5b *śāntā* 6b requires correction, as *śāntā* *śāntā* *śāntā* *śāntā*  
 7c as 2a 9a *śāntā* 9c *śāntā* 113. 4d *śāntā* 7c Rest at the  
 fifth place 9a *śāntā* (adv) 10a extended Trīṣubh verse 10d *śāntā*  
*śāntā*. \*114. 4a hyperasyllabic verse, § 294 see also § 130 iv 6c *śāntā*  
 10b Pentad verse.

F \*X 115-191. [These shorter hymns include many charms, all  
 belonging to the popular Rīgveda.]

115 1c *śāntā*, 2d caesura after the third syllable, 5a irregular  
 cadence 5c, 5d catalectic verses, 5d *śāntā*, 7a *śāntā* with hiatus

*mārtiāh*, § 151 m, 8a *sahasāvan*, § 177 m, 9c Rest at the fifth place 116 1c, 1d *pībā*, 7a, 7c (the second time) *tūbhya* \*117 1c, 2d *utā*, 5c *īāthra*

118 6a *mārtiāh*, § 151 m, 8b *oṣū* \*119 See p 46, 11a heptasyllabic verse, 13a probably *gṛhām* \*120 1a *jyāyīṣṭham*, 1b Virātsthānā verse, 1d Pentad verse, 3b *duīh*, 4a as 1d, 8a *brāhmā* (plur) *brhādīva*, § 178, 9c for the caesura see § 213 n, 9d extended Tristubh verse \*121 7c hypersyllabic verse, § 224, but cf § 152 i

122 3b hybrid and catalectic verse, 5a Rest at the fifth place, 5b *matsuā*, 5d perhaps *īūrucuh*, § 169 n, 7d *āgram*, or as 5a, 8a *ahvanta*, § 142 m b, 8d *pātā* 123 7d *nāmā* (plur) 124. See p 46, \*1d *jyōh* exceptionally, § 140 m, \*2d probably *suāt sakhyāt*, \*3b *dhāmā* (plur), 6c Pentad verse, 8c perhaps *īāyanam*, § 170 n c \*125 4a *sā*, 4b *i*, § 178, 8a *evā*

126 For the metre see Ch IV, App No 54, 2c Epic Anustubh semi-cadence, 2d *pāthā*, 5c *īudarām*, § 149 n, catalectic trimeter verse, 8c *evā sū* \*127 3b *usāsam*, § 170 n a, 4a *adyā*, 6b *yāvāyā* \*128 8a hybrid verse, 9c omit *ādityāh*, § 152 i \*129 2b *īāthra*, 6b hybrid verse or *iyām* monosyllabic, § 151 m, 7b add *dadhē* \*130 [Very late hymn] 1a Rest at the fourth place, 2c *ī sādah* requires correction, cf § 171 v, 5d, 6a *manuṣyāh*, § 135 a, 7a see § 177 i

131 6a, 7c *su-āvān* 132 For the metre see § 242 v<sub>1</sub>, 1a see § 242 v<sub>1</sub>, 1b Rest at the fourth place, 1c *devā*, § 174 i a, 2b for the caesura see § 213 n, 3b *īekanah* possibly, § 149 iv, 3c Gautamī verse *īāyknah*, § 151 i, 3d *ū*, 6b *daūh*, 7a perhaps *apna-īāyanā* 133, 134 See § 109 iv \*133 1a *prā sū*, 1g, etc *jāhāh*, 6a *tuāyāvah*, 7a *sū tām* should perhaps begin the verse, 7c *ācchīdīa-ūdhnī* 134 2a *smā*

\*135 4b *vīprebhah*, 7c *iyām* perhaps monosyllabic, § 151 m \*136 6c catalectic verse \*137 5a catalectic verse, 7c *tuā*

138 4a *ārat*, § 145 m, 5b *tūga*, 6a *tuā* *śrūta*, 6b catalectic verse \*139 4c hypersyllabic verse, § 224 140 See § 246 v, 2a § 152 n, 3c *tuē*, § 173 v, 6c *tuā* \*141 1c *yacchā*, 4a *indrāyāyā* \*142 1a *tvē*, § 173 v, 1b *āstr* is probably to be omitted, or read *nahī anyād āpyam āh*, 5a *śīāyṇayah*, 6c *namā*

143 3a *dāmśisṭha*, § 174 i a 144 See § 246 v, 2b *dāśvate*, § 142 v, 4c perhaps *vivartanīh*, see § 225, 5a *śrenāh*, § 145 v<sub>1</sub>, 5b *ā abharat*, 5c, 6c *āyu*, § 178 \*145 6c *mām*, § 151 i, 6e extra verse \*146 2c *-bhv 'va*, § 129 n 147 4c *tuāvindhah*, 5b *kdhī*

148 1a Virātsthānā verse (*indīa* type), 1b *sasamvāṁsah*, 1c *bharā*, 2b Virātsthānā verse, rather than *dāśāh* but see § 151 i, 3d *īathā-ūha*, 4a *brāhmā* (plur) *tūbhya*, 4b *dāah*, § 142 m a *nānām*, 4c *bhavā* \*149 1c *āsvam 'va*, § 129 m, 2c *bhūuh* perhaps cf § 142 v, 4a *gāvo 'va*, § 129 n, 4c *pātr 'va*, 1b, 5b *jukhūē*, § 142 m b

150 See § 246 v, 3c *vahā*, 4a omit *devāh*, § 152 i, 4b *manuṣyāh*, § 135 a \*151 2a heptasyllabic verse, 4c *hrdayyāyā*, § 135 a \*152 4b *yacchā*, 5c catalectic verse \*155 1b *yacchā*, *sadānue*, cf. § 145 n b, 2c *arāyāyām*, § 135 b 156 2c *hinvā* \*157 1d needs restoration as a trimeter verse \*158 1b *vāatah*, § 142 v *-ṣaat* perhaps, § 151 i, 2 may perhaps be restored as follows *sāvitar yāsya*

te hōrah, sardūm sūdm arhāt | tēna no pāhi didyutah 5a tūā  
 \*159 4c catalectic verse 160 4a cād, 5b tūā 5d perhaps tūā  
 § 151 ii.

\*161. 2b nīkāt, § 121 4a jīrā 4b ā 5a tūā the second time  
 \*162. 1c heptasyllabic verse but cf. 2a 2a catalectic verse \*163. 1c  
 sīranyām § 135 a 2c dānyām ih. 4b -ābhām \*164. 3a the  
 metre is out of harmony with the period perhaps read yād dāstyā  
 nīhātāt bhīkātī 3b upāramā § 158 i. 5c hypersyllabic verse  
 5c extra verse \*165. 3c requires correction perhaps sīm na astu  
 gābhāh pīrūbhāh \*166. 1b indro ra § 129 i stanza 5 requires  
 correction \*167. 4c raum § 151 i 4d irregular cadence \*168. 1a  
 nā \*169. 1d aru-syā. \*170. See p. 46 3b Rest at the fourth  
 place

172. 2b for the caesura see § 213 ii. \*173. 2b pāratō ra  
 § 129 ii 2c indro ra ih. 4a probably dīdāt then pīthāt cf. § 151 ii.  
 \*174. 2a āh cītyā is probable cf. § 167 i. catalectic verse 4c cata-  
 lectic verse 176 4c catalectic verse 178. 1a tūdm 1d ihā, § 151 ii.  
 \*180. 1c bhārī 2c sūnsyā 3a Rest at the fifth place \*183. 2b  
 tād § 173 iii \*184. 3a heptasyllabic verse 185. 2b nā not with  
 hiatus. \*189. 3a dhīmī (plur) \*190. 1b tīpāt dhī gives a better  
 rhythm than tīpāt dīhy 3c catalectic verse 191. 1a heptasyllabic  
 verse.

## CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

- p 14 l 25, etc, for '*Bhārgavā*' read '*Bhārgavī*'
- p 30 l 5 for 1 22 8d read 1 122 8d
- „ 1 10 add 1 79 5c
- „ 1 11 for viii 67 19a read viii 67 19c
- p 61 l 11. The name *Paṇḍita* also occurs in viii 63 12c
- p 65 l 29 for 44 1-3 read 44 1-13
- p 79 l 16 Omit § 130 iii
- p 84 l 4 from bottom of page Omit the words 'except in *sāntya* 'good''
- p 84 last line, and p 85 l 1 Omit the sentence from 'The fact ' to ' reading '
- p 87 l 6 from bottom of page Add *navatī* 11 18 6a, *saptatī* 11 18 5d
- p 89 l 9 Add *vivie* x 49 11a Add after l 11 *śvāh* 'tomorrow' more usually *śvāh* And after line 17 *hyāh* 'yesterday,' always *hāh*
- p 101 l 20 For *devān* gen pl add 11 4 2d
- p 102 l 5 Add *ahian* 1x 26 8a
- p 119 lines 5, 6, and 7 for 'long' read 'short'
- p 125 l 15 from bottom of page, for '§ 172 1' read '§ 173 1'
- p 126 l 23 read *apāvṛhā*
- p 128 l 25 for 'heavy' read 'light'
- p 131 l 25 for '§ 170 11' read '§ 168 11,' and add *vāśisu* v 53 4a
- p 134 l 16 For *vā* u add 1 105 2a
- „ 1 29 Add *ū sādah* \*x 130 2c
- p 135 l 3 We find *ū* long with hiatus before a similar vowel in 1 39 2b (2d)
- „ 1 18 viii 96 9d has *ā* in the eighth place, not the ninth
- p 136 l 15 The suffix *-īya* is also found in *asurīya* (adj), which is required in all occurrences (except ix 71 2b) for *asuryū* of the text
- p 137 l 19 Also dual of a verb in *e* in 1 2 9c (5)
- „ 1 21 But *indra agnī* occurs vi 60 13a (9)
- p 141 line 12 from bottom of page, for *lh* read *lh*
- p 142 l 8 Aufrecht justifies his transliteration in his Preface, p 6
- p 143 l 16 for 1 120 15a read 1 121 15a
- p 144 lines 20-22 are to be deleted, *sāmunī* being locative singular see also the Metrical Commentary
- p 159 Add to the occurrences (i) Long fifth syllable, x\*141 3c, 143 6a, (ii) Short sixth syllable, 1 2 8a<sup>3</sup> 9a<sup>3</sup> 9c, \*x 141 3a
- p 160 (iii) Trochaic ending omit the exx in 1 120, and add v 19 5b, viii 94 8b, viii 5 37a, 11 2c, (iv) Syncopated ending, add v 19 3c, (v) Irregular endings, add viii 3 22a<sup>2</sup>, 17 14a<sup>1</sup>, 55 3b<sup>2</sup>, 56 5a
- p 161 (i) Catalectic verses add \*v 152 5c, (ii) Heptasyllabic verses, add v 19 5c 5d
- p 209 l 3 for '*apāām*' read '*apāam*'
- p 221 § 234 iii a. The metre of the third Mandala has been carefully analyzed by A. Meillet (*Journal Asiatique*, Sept-Oct, 1897)
- In addition to the passages here referred to there are many others as to which the views expressed in the body of the work are modified in the 'Metrical Commentary' (pp 289-325)

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The references are to the pages. Each page is for this purpose divided into four equal parts denoted respectively by the letters *a b c d*.

The arrangement follows the English alphabet, but in the case of Sanskrit words the special symbols used are arranged in relation to the nearest English symbol in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet. Thus the whole alphabet employed in this index is as follows: *a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z*.

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